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JEWISH NUMISMATICS;

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE

"HISTORY OF JEWISH COINAGE AND MONEY IN THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS," PUBLISHED IN 1861.

BY

FREDERIC W. MADDEN, ESQ.

PART III.

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§ III. COINS OF THE HERODIAN FAMILY.

(Continued.)

H. HEROD AGRIPPA II.

A.D. 48—A.D. 100.

Herod Agrippa II. was the son of Herod Agrippa I. and Cypros. At the time of his father's death, in A.D. 44, he was only seventeen years of age and was at Rome, being educated under the Emperor Claudius. At first, Claudius was disposed to send the young Agrippa to succeed his father in the kingdom, but being persuaded that he was too young to undertake the cares of a large kingdom, he decided to commit the government of Agrippa II. to the supervision of a procurator, Cuspius Fadus.¹²⁷

In the eighth year of Claudius, which fell between the 25th of January, A.D. 48, and the 25th of January, A.D. 49, the uncle of Agrippa II., Herod, King of Chalcis, died, leaving three sons: Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife Mariamne, daughter of Joseph, nephew of Herod, and of Olympias (the daughter of Herod I. by Malthace);

¹²⁷ Jos., "Antiq." xix. 9, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6.

and Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, both of whom he had by his second wife Bernice, his niece (daughter of Agrippa I.). Claudius set aside these children and conferred the kingdom of Chalcis on Agrippa II.¹²⁸

Four years later Claudius, having completed the twelfth year of his reign (25th January, A.D. 53), took from Agrippa II. the kingdom of Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof for four years, and gave him instead the tetrarchy of Philip II., Batanea, Trachonitis, and Abila, which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias.¹²⁹ This took place about February, A.D. 53.'

On the 13th of October, A.D. 54, Claudius died and Nero succeeded him.

Nero in the first year of his reign (A.D. 54—55) gave to Aristobulus, the son of Herod, King of Chalcis, the government of Lesser Armenia, and bestowed upon Agrippa II. a certain part of Galilee, the cities of Tiberias and Taricheæ, with Julias, a city of Peræa, and fourteen villages near it.¹³⁰

About A.D. 60, Agrippa II. and Bernice his sister—concerning the nature of whose equivocal intercourse with each other there had been some grave conversation, and who in consequence persuaded Polemo, King of Cilicia, to marry her¹³¹—paid a visit to the Roman governor Festus, at Caesarea. It was before them that Paul made his famous speech which drew forth the ironical and contemptuous answer, "Thou wilt *soon* persuade me to be a Christian."¹³²

¹²⁸ Jos., "Antiq." xx. 5, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 1.

¹²⁹ Jos., "Antiq." xx. 7, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 8.

¹³⁰ Jos., "Antiq." xx. 8, 4; "Bell. Jud." ii. 13, 2. In this last passage Josephus mentions Abila, but it had already been given to Agrippa II. by Claudius (see note 129).

¹³¹ Jos., "Antiq." xx. 7, 3.

¹³² The Authorised Version (Acts xxvi. 28) has—"Almost thou

After the decease of Festus, which took place probably about the end of A.D. 61,¹³³ Albinus was sent to Judæa as Procurator, and, according to Josephus,¹³⁴ it was about this time that Agrippa II. much enlarged the city of Cæsarea-Philippi, calling it *Neronias*, in honour of the Emperor Nero.

The Jewish war commenced in the second year of the government of Gessius Florus and the twelfth year of Nero,¹³⁵ and Josephus states,¹³⁶ that the twelfth year of Nero was the seventeenth year of Agrippa II.

It will therefore be necessary to examine here the question of the dates recorded in the passages of Josephus, as there is evidently some confusion.

Agrippa II. is King of Chalcis in the eighth year of Claudius. The eighth year of Claudius commenced 25th of January, A.D. 48, and ended 25th of January, A.D. 49.

The first year of Nero commenced 13th of October, A.D. 54, and ended 13th of October, A.D. 55. Consequently the *twelfth year* of Nero commenced 13th of October, A.D. 65, and ended 13th of October, A.D. 66.

If then the month of April, A.D. 66, was included in the seventeenth year of Agrippa II., we shall find by counting back that the month of April of the first year of Agrippa II. would be the month of April, A.D. 50, from which it is clear that the first year of Agrippa II. *could not*

persuadest me to be a Christian." On this question see Conybeare and Howson, "Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 367, *note*; T. Lewin, "Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 179, *note*.

¹³³ The Procurator question will receive attention in the next section of this series of papers.

¹³⁴ Jos., "Antiq." xx. 9, 4.

¹³⁵ Ibid., xx. 11, 1.

¹³⁶ Προσελάβανε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας ἑπτακαίδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. Jos., "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 4. The month *Artemisius* here alluded to corresponds to April—May, A.D. 66.

be the eighth of Claudius, which was included between 25th January, A.D. 48, and 25th of January, A.D. 49.

We should therefore perhaps read in Josephus "in the ninth year," instead of "in the eighth."

Chalcis was, however, taken away from Agrippa II. when he had been governor *four years*. This took place, as we have already shown, about February, A.D. 53, at the commencement of the thirteenth year of Claudius. The thirteenth year of Claudius commenced 25th of January, A.D. 53, and four years back would give us A.D. 49 for the commencement of the reign of Agrippa II. at Chalcis.

Were we then to retain the words of Josephus, "in the *eighth year* of Claudius," in one passage, we should perhaps read in the other "the *eighteenth year* of Agrippa," instead of "the seventeenth."

A table¹³⁷ will better elucidate the above statements:—

| | A.D. | |
|-----------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| 25th January, | 48 | Agrippa II. succeeds Herod, King of |
| 8th year of Claudius— | 49—1 | Chalcis, at close of A.D. 48. |
| 9th " " | 50—2 | 1 |
| 10th " " | 51—3 | 2 |
| 11th " " | 52—4 | 3 |
| 12th " " | 53—5 | 4 |
| 13th " " | 54—6 | 5 |
| 13th October, | — | —end of the royalty of Chalcis after |
| 1st year of Nero | 55—7 | four years' government. |
| 2nd " " | 56—8 | 6 |
| 3rd " " | 57—9 | 7 |
| 4th " " | 58—10 | 8 |
| 5th " " | 59—11 | 9 |
| 6th " " | 60—12 | 10 |
| 7th " " | 61—13 | 11 |
| 8th " " | 62—14 | 12 |
| 9th " " | 63—15 | 13 |
| 10th " " | 64—16 | 14 |
| 11th " " | 65—17 | 15 |
| 12th " " | 66—18 | 16 |
| | | 17 April, A.D. 66 (Ἀπριμίου μηνός) |
| | | Jos. "Bell. Jud.," ii. 14, 4. |

All circumstances considered, it seems better to correct the words of Josephus, "in the eighth year of Claudius,"

¹³⁷ See also our General Table at end of this section.

to "the *ninth year* of Claudius," and to assume that the ninth year of Claudius, *i.e.* between January, A.D. 49, and January, A.D. 50, was the first year of Agrippa's reign at Chalcis. This era ended four years after in A.D. 53. The seventeenth year of Agrippa II. would in this case correspond to the twelfth year of Nero.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ With reference to these dates De Saulcy (Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num., 1869, p. 37) says:—"Si l'année xvii. d'Agrippa correspond à la douzième de Néron, comprise entre le 13 octobre 65 et le 13 octobre 66, c'est que forcément notre historien compte ces années de règne à partir du moment où Agrippa II. reçut la royauté de Chalcis. C'est en l'an 8 de Claude (24 janvier 48 à 24 janvier 49, *real* 25 janvier) que cela a eu lieu, et il y a bien exactement dix-sept ans entre ces dates." This is not correct. There are exactly "*dix-huit ans* entre ces dates" (see the Table above). In another passage (p. 41) De Saulcy, after examining the dates, writes: "Tout deviendrait clair, si l'on remplaçait, dans le texte de Josèphe, l'année viii. par l'année ix.," whilst in a third place (p. 42), he adds, "Il est donc plus probable que c'est le chiffre 17 de l'année d'Agrippa, correspondante à l'année xii. de Néron, qui est inexact, et qu'il faut remplacer ce chiffre 17 par le chiffre 18. C'est là ce que nous admettons en définitive." These statements seem to contradict each other, but De Saulcy in a Table eventually adopts the dates which I have given, and which I believe to be the correct ones.

The Rev. H. Browne, writer of the article *Chronology* in Kitto's "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," referring to the succession of Agrippa II. to his uncle's dominions and to the passage in Josephus ("Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 4), says that "for *ἐπτακαίδέκατον* we must read *ἐννεακαίδέκατον*," and adds that, "all indications point to the year 49, and it is remarkable that that is the year named by Orosius ('Hist.' vii. 6: 'ninth year of Claudius') from some lost source of intelligence; *ut Josephus tradit*, he says; but that is a mistake." But if any alteration should be made in this passage of Josephus, it should surely be to "*ὀκτωκαίδέκατον*," which, as the Table shows, would more correctly bring the year to A.D. 49.

Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 288, No. 1726) explains the passage in Josephus as follows:—"In the passage from the 'Wars,' Josephus reckons the reign of Agrippa, not as he had done in the case of Herod the Great by consular or Jewish years, *viz.*, from every 1 January or 1 Nisan, but by actual years from the commencement of the reign of Agrippa *de facto* in the second quarter of A.D. 49. The reason of his here com

About February, A.D. 53, commenced the era of the tetrarchy of Philip.

The era of the actual kingdom of Agrippa II. (or, as I called it in my book, the "era of Tiberias") commenced according to De Sauley in A.D. 55, when the addition was made to his territory. Whether Agrippa II. did commence counting this era in A.D. 55, or at a later date, will be discussed presently in these pages.

In A.D. 67, Vespasian conducted the Jewish war which Nero had committed to him. In the month of Artemisius (April—May), A.D. 67,¹³⁹ he entered Galilee, and after forty-seven days' siege took Iotapata, on the fifth day of the month Panemus (June—July), in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, A.D. 67.¹⁴⁰ On the fourth day of the same month Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, and from thence to Cæsarea. Joppa was then taken.¹⁴¹ Shortly after Vespasian removed from Cæsarea and went to Cæsarea-Philippi, where he spent twenty days with Agrippa II.¹⁴²

Tiberias and Taricheæ, both of which cities formed part of the kingdom of Agrippa II., were next attacked by Vespasian "for the sake of Agrippa," as Josephus says.¹⁴³ Tiberias soon surrendered, and Taricheæ yielded

puting in this way probably was that the historian, as the contemporary of this Agrippa, knew the exact time when his reign commenced, and could not with propriety, when giving the year of Nero's actual reign, adopt a different mode of calculation as to Agrippa's reign. Had Josephus computed the reign of Agrippa, like that of Herod, from 1 January or 1 Nisan next preceding his accession to the throne, the 19th April, A.D. 66, which was after the commencement of the new Roman year or 1 January and the new Jewish year on 1 Nisan, would necessarily have fallen under the eighteenth and not the seventeenth year of Agrippa."

¹³⁹ Jos., "Bell. Jud." iii. 7, 3.

¹⁴⁰ Jos., "Bell. Jud." iii. 7, 36.

¹⁴¹ Jos., "Bell. Jud." iii. 9, 1—4.

¹⁴² Jos., "Bell. Jud." iii. 9, 7.

¹⁴³ Jos., "Bell. Jud." *loc. cit.*

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TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE COINAGE OF AGRIPPA II.

| DE SAUVET'S ARRANGEMENT | | | | F. W. MADDEN'S ARRANGEMENT. | | | | REMARKS. | |
|-------------------------|--|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--|------------------------------------|--|----------|---|
| 40 | Chalcos Era. | Era of the Tetrarchy of Philip II. | Era of Kingdom of Agrippa. | Era of Neroviana. | Chalcos Era. | Era of the Tetrarchy of Philip II. | Era of Tiberias or Kingdom of Agrippa. | | Era of Neroviana. |
| 44 | | | | | | | | | Death of Herod Agrippa I. |
| 45 | | | | | | | | | |
| 46 | | | | | | | | | |
| 47 | | | | | | | | | |
| 48 | | | | | | | | | |
| 49 | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | Death of Herod, King of Chalcis, in the 8th year of Claudius, Agrippa II. succeeds at close of A.D. 48. |
| 50 | 2 | | | | 2 | | | | |
| 51 | 3 | | | | 3 | | | | |
| 52 | 4 | | | | 4 | | | | |
| 53 | 5 | | | | 5 | | | | |
| 54 | 6 | | | | 6 | | | | |
| 55 | 7 | | | | 7 | | | | |
| 56 | 8 | | | | 8 | | | | |
| 57 | 9 | | | | 9 | | | | |
| 58 | 10 | | | | 10 | | | | |
| 59 | 11 ETOY AI TOY KAI (and 9) | | | | 11 ETOY AI TOY KAI (and 9) | | | | Chalcis taken away from Agrippa II. He is appointed to Tetrarchy of Philip, when twelfth year of Claudius was completed, about February, A.D. 52. |
| 60 | 12 | | | | 12 | | | | Death of Claudius. Nero. |
| 61 | 13 | | | | 13 | | | | Agrippa II. receives from Nero Galilee, Tiberias, Tarichee, Julius of Perea, &c. |
| 62 | 14 | | | | 14 | | | | Sixth year of Nero |
| 63 | 15 | | | | 15 | | | | Agrippa II. enlarges Caesarea Philippi, and calls it <i>Nereana</i> . |
| 64 | 16 | | | | 16 | | | | |
| 65 | 17 | | | | 17 | | | | |
| 66 | 18 | | | | 18 | | | | Twelfth year of Nero, seventeenth year of Agrippa II. Jewish war begins. |
| 67 | 19 | | | | 19 | | | | Capture of Jotapata. Surrender of Tiberias. |
| 68 | 20 | | | | 20 | | | | Death of Nero. Galba. Otho. Vitellius. |
| 69 | 21 | | | | 21 | | | | Vespasian Emperor. Titus and Domitian <i>Cesars</i> . |
| 70 | 22 | | | | 22 | | | | Domitian's expedition in Gaul and Germany. |
| 71 | 23 | | | | 23 | | | | Conquest of Judaea. |
| 72 | 24 ETO. K.E. Domitian Cae. | | | | 24 | | | | |
| 73 | 25 ET. K.E. Domitian Cae. | | | | 25 | | | | |
| 74 | 26 ETOY K.E. Vespasian Aug. | | | | 26 ETOY K.E. Vespasian Aug. | | | | Aristobulus, son of Herod, King of Chalcis, was about this time still King of Chalcis. |
| 75 | 27 ETOY K.E. Titus Aug. | | | | 27 ETOY K.E. Titus Aug. | | | | |
| 76 | 28 ETOY K.E. Domitian Cae. | | | | 28 ETOY K.E. Domitian Cae. | | | | |
| 77 | 29 ETOY K.E. Vespasian Aug. | | | | 29 ETOY K.E. Vespasian Aug. | | | | |
| 78 | 30 ETOY K.E. Titus Aug. | | | | 30 ETOY K.E. Titus Aug. | | | | |
| 79 | 31 ETOY K.E. Domitian Cae. | | | | 31 ETOY K.E. Domitian Cae. | | | | |
| 80 | 32 | | | | 32 | | | | Death of Vespasian. Titus |
| 81 | 33 | | | | 33 | | | | |
| 82 | 34 | | | | 34 | | | | Death of Titus. Domitian |
| 83 | 35 ET. or ETOY EA Domitian [Imp. and Cae.] | | | | 35 ET. or ETOY EA Domitian [Imp. and Cae.] | | | | |
| 84 | 36 | | | | 36 | | | | Domitian takes the name of <i>Germanicus</i> |
| 85 | 37 | | | | 37 | | | | |
| 86 | 38 | | | | 38 | | | | |
| 87 | 39 | | | | 39 | | | | |
| 88 | 40 | | | | 40 | | | | |
| 89 | 41 | | | | 41 | | | | |
| 90 | 42 | | | | 42 | | | | |
| 91 | 43 | | | | 43 | | | | |
| 92 | 44 | | | | 44 | | | | |
| 93 | 45 | | | | 45 | | | | |
| 94 | 46 | | | | 46 | | | | |
| 95 | 47 | | | | 47 | | | | |
| 96 | 48 | | | | 48 | | | | |
| 97 | 49 | | | | 49 | | | | |
| 98 | 50 | | | | 50 | | | | |
| 99 | 51 | | | | 51 | | | | |

NOTE.—The queries placed against certain dates in my arrangement do not mean that the reading is doubtful, but that the coins may belong to either the era of the Tetrarchy of Philip II. or to the era of Tiberias.

The year 10 of the era of Philip corresponds to A.D. 62—63.

The year 10 of the kingdom of Agrippa is A.D. 64—65, or of the era of Tiberias, A.D. 70—71.

To which of these years shall the coin be assigned?

Mr. Reichardt,¹⁶³ when he first published this coin, assumed that Agrippa II. counted the years of his reign from his father's death in A.D. 44, but that he did not take the government at once till Claudius, in A.D. 53 (being the tenth year of his, Agrippa's, reign), bestowed upon him the title of king, on which occasion he thought himself entitled to cause coins to be struck in his name as king.

I have already stated¹⁶⁴ that I do not agree with the date given by Mr. Reichardt, and that I did not consider that Agrippa II. commenced counting the years of his reign till he succeeded his uncle Herod, king of Chalcis, in A.D. 48.

Of the four different dates to which this piece could be assigned, a question that De Sauley leaves unanswered, I am inclined to think, as I thought in 1864,¹⁶⁵ that the year ten refers to the tenth year of the Chalcian era, A.D. 58, for the reason, that the right of striking coins with the head of Agrippa II. must have been peremptorily put a stop to, as in the next year, A.D. 59, and in all future years, his coins bear either the head of a town or the head of a reigning emperor.

I do not, therefore, think that this coin was issued as late as A.D. 62—63, A.D. 64—65 or A.D. 70—71.

Still, this is conjectural.

¹⁶³ Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 274.

¹⁶⁴ "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 115.

¹⁶⁵ "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 116.

AGRIPPA II., WITH OR WITHOUT THE NAME OF NERO.

1. *Obr.*—Legend lost. Head of Nero to the right, laureated ; in front, the *lituus*.

Rev.—ΕΠΙ — ΒΑΣΙΛΕ — ΑΓΡΙΠΠ — ΝΕΡΩ — ΝΙΕ
(Νερωριεων) within an olive crown. ("Trésor,"
Pl. LX. No. 13; Madden, p. 116, No. 1; De
Saulcy,¹⁶⁶ p. 28, B. No. 1.)

2. *Obr.*—ΝΕΡΩΝ. Head of Nero to the right, laureated.

Rev.—Same legend and type. ("Trésor," Pl. LX. No. 14 ;
Madden, p. 116, No. 2; De Saulcy, p. 28, B.
No. 2. De Saulcy adds that he cannot see on
this coin, as I had given, the word **CEBAC-**
TOC.)

3. *Obr.*—ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ . . . Head of Nero to the right,
laureated.

Rev.—Same legend and type. (British Museum; Madden,
p. 116, No. 3; De Saulcy, p. 28, B. No. 3.)

4. *Obr.*—ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑΔ . . ΚΑΙ CAPI ΑΓΡΙΠΑ. Tur-
reted female head to the right.

Rev.—ΒΑΣ. [ΑΓΡ ΕΤ]ΟΥΣ ΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙϙ. Two
cornua-copiae; between them a *caduceus*. (Wigan
Coll.; Madden, p. 117, No. 4; De Saulcy, p. 28,
A. No. 2.)


5. *Obr.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ (*sic*) ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ,
holding ears of corn and poppy-heads.

Rev.—ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΙ ΤΟΥ within a circle, and written
around the monogram Ϻ (Κϙ).¹⁶⁷ (Madden,
p. 117, No. 5; "Trésor," Pl. LX. No. 15;
Cavedoni, Num. Bibl. [Italian work], Pl. I. No. 6;
De Saulcy, p. 28, A. No. 3.)

¹⁶⁶ References, except when otherwise stated, are to De Saulcy's paper, "On the Coins of the Agrippas," in the Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num. et de Arch., p. 26 *seq.*, Paris, 1869.

¹⁶⁷ De Saulcy has not taken any notice of the curious little copper coin with the legend **ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ** and date **ΕΤ. ΡΚ**, assigned by Cavedoni to Agrippa II. (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 120). I have already alluded to Mr. Conder's interpretation of the date in a former portion of this series of papers (see § I.).

Remarks on Coins of Agrippa II., with or without the Name of Nero.

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are undated. Nos. 4 and 5 bear a double date **ΕΤΟΥC ΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ** ,—i.e. “year XI., which is also VI.”

Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 were struck at Cæsarea-Philippi, a town, as we have already mentioned, to which Agrippa II. gave the name of *Neronias* about A.D. 61.

No. 5 has not the name of the town in which it was struck. In all probability it was also issued at *Neronias*. From this coin we learn that Agrippa II. assumed the name of *Marcus* from Marcus Agrippa.

With respect to the date of the issue of Nos. 4 and 5, De Sauley (p. 48) says:—“Il n’y a pas à hésiter, l’an XI. de l’ère de Chalcis se répartit sur les années 59 et 60; l’an VI. de la royauté définitive sur les années 60 et 61. C’est donc dans l’année 60 que nos deux jolies petites monnaies d’Agrippa II. ont été frappées à Césarée de Philippe,” and adds in a *note*:—“Il ne peut être ici question, comme le croit Madden, d’une année de Néron et d’une année d’Agrippa II.”

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are consequently also classed by De Sauley to A.D. 60.

It may now be as well to say a few words respecting the “ère de la royauté définitive d’Agrippa II.,” which De Sauley makes to commence in A.D. 55, when Agrippa II. received from Nero Galilee, Tiberias, Taricheæ, Julias of Peræa, with other villages of Peræa.

It will be remembered that from certain coins of Domitian bearing the date **ET. KS** (year 26), and the designation of the twelfth consulship (Cos. XII.), it was thought that the true commencement of the era “*de la*

royauté définitive" (or, as I called it, "*the era of Tiberias*") was in the eighth year of Nero, A.D. 61.¹⁶⁸

These coins of Domitian, which will be found described in their proper place,¹⁶⁹ are, however, considered by De Sauley to have no connection with the "*era of Agrippa II.*," but with a "*special era of the town of Neronias*," and he has consequently based his arrangement of a portion of the series* on the commencement of Agrippa's era from A.D. 55.

But the coins, with or without the name of Nero, above described (Nos. 1 to 5), although *undoubtedly struck at Neronias*, are not assigned by De Sauley to the *special era of Neronias*, but to *the era of Chalcis*. And why?

Because the "year XI, which is also VI.," could not possibly belong to an era the eleventh year of which would be in A.D. 71.

I quite agree with De Sauley that the "year XI." refers to the Chalcian era, A.D. 59-60, but if the coins of Domitian above alluded to can be considered as fixing the correct period of commencement of the "era of Agrippa," then I am still of opinion that the "year VI." is the *sixth year* of Nero, A.D. 59—60.

Further discussion of the dates on these coins of Domitian will be given *in loco*.

AGRIPPA II., WITH THE NAME OF VESPASIAN.

1. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

Rev.—ΕΤ. ΔΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Deity, with *modius* on head, standing to left, holding ears of corn and cornu-copie. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 1; De

¹⁶⁸ Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 131.

¹⁶⁹ See under Domitian, Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13.

Sauley, p. 28, C. No. 1. The specimen which I published (p. 121, No. 1) from that in the British Museum has the obverse legend **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΒΑΣΤΩ** [*sic*.]

2. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕ-ΒΑΣΤ.** Type as No. 1. Countermark on neck.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΗΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Type as No. 1. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 3; Madden, p. 122, No. 3; De Sauley, p. 29, C. No. 2, who says that the piece is of *potin* and not *Æ*.)

3. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤ . . ΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤ.** Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΣ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Type as No. 1. A crescent above the right arm of the goddess. (De Sauley, p. 29, C. No. 3; a second example has the obverse legend **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣ-ΠΑΣΙ ΑΣΤΩ**; cf. Madden, p. 122, No. 4, from an impression received from M. Cohen.)

4. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕ-ΒΑΣΤ.** Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΖ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Type as No. 1. Star above the right arm of the goddess. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 4; Madden, p. 123, No. 5; De Sauley, p. 29, C. No. 4.)

5. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑ ΑΣΤΩ.** Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ** (*sic*). Type as No. 1. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 5; Madden, p. 123, No. 6; De Sauley, p. 29, C. No. 5, who adds: "Un exemplaire entre mes mains porte **ΑΓΡΙ ΠΠΑ.**")

With respect to this coin, De Sauley says that "Le No. 3 de Madden, p. 125, attribué à Titus, doit être notre No. 5 [the coin above described] de Vespasien.—('Trésor,' Pl. LXI., No. 6, avec **Λ. ΚΘ ΒΑ.** Nous ne savons d'où sort cette pièce)."

The No. 3 was published by me from a specimen in

the British Museum. There are no traces on it either of **TITΩ** or **ΟΥΕC**. Nor can anything certain be gathered from the portrait, though I was of opinion that it was more like the face of Titus. Moreover, I felt corroborated in my views from the fact of a similar coin being engraved in the "Trésor" (Pl. LXI. No. 6), but with the legend **L. ΚΘ ΒΑ**. The obverse legend of this coin is clearly engraved **ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC.**, but the reverse legend, which is given as **L. ΚΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ**, is so obscure, that it is quite impossible to distinguish any portion of it with certainty.

The reverse type, though, of both these coins—*i.e.* that described by me, and that described in the "Trésor," is "*Victory to the right, holding wreath and palm-branch,*" whilst the type given by De Saulcy (No. 5) is *the goddess with modius*. What then does De Saulcy mean by his statement—"Le No. 3 de Madden, p. 125, attribué à Titus, doit être notre No. 5 de Vespasien?" I do not know.

Moreover, there is no reason why coins of Titus with the date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΘ** or **L. ΚΘ.**, should not exist, as we shall see later.

Remarks on Coins of Agrippa II. with the Name of Vespasian.

DE SAULCY'S ARRANGEMENT (p. 49).—No. 1, with the date **ΕΤ. ΔΙ**, year 14 of the "ère définitive," was struck immediately after the election of Vespasian—*i.e.* in the month of July, A.D. 69, probably at the metropolis of one of Agrippa's tetrarchies.

No. 2, with the date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΗΙ**, year 18 of the same era, was struck at the same town between the years A.D. 72 and 73.

No. 3, bearing the date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΚC** (year 26), in the same town, and certainly during the lifetime of Vespasian.

sian; but it cannot be dated from the "ère définitive," but from the "era of Chalcis," and represents A.D. 74—75.

De Sauley adds :—"Pourquoi ce changement d'ère ? nous l'ignorons ; mais nous ne pouvons méconnaître que cette ère a été employée, puisque Josèphe s'en sert pour désigner l'année du règne d'Agrippa II., correspondant à l'an XII. de Néron. Il est vrai que cet écrivain a écrit l'an XVII. au lieu de l'an XVIII. ; mais cela ne change rien à la conclusion."¹⁷⁰

No. 4, dated **ETOY. KZ** (year 27), is also dated from the era of Chalcis, and was struck in A.D. 75—76.

No. 5, **ETOY. KO** (year 29), dated from the same era, and was issued in A.D. 77—78, the year that preceded the death of Vespasian.

De Sauley also observes that the two groups are distinct in the manner of marking the dates. In the former the units precede the tens, in the latter the tens precede the units.

F. W. MADDEN'S ARRANGEMENT.—No. 1, date **ET. ΔI** (year 14). Similar coins with this date are known of Titus (**L. ΙΔ**) and Domitian (**L. ΙΔ**), which are described *in loco*.

All are attributed by De Sauley to A.D. 69.

It may be remarked that on the coin of Titus there are the titles of *Autokrator* and *Sebastos*, which might lead one to suppose that it was not issued till after the death of Vespasian in A.D. 79, but there is no era giving that date to which it could possibly be assigned, and it is more than likely that, as Titus was associated with his father in the tribunitian power, and made *Imperator* in A.D. 71,¹⁷¹ that he was considered in Syria to be the real colleague of Vespasian, and to participate in all the Imperial honours.

¹⁷⁰ I have already alluded to this in the short account of Agrippa II.'s life earlier in this section. (See note 138.)

¹⁷¹ Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 351.

I am not, however, of De Saulcy's opinion respecting the date of the issue of these pieces.

In A.D. 68, on the death of Nero, as I have above shown, Agrippa II. accompanied Titus on their way to Rome to take orders from Galba about the Jews. On the road they heard of the death of Galba and of the accession of Otho, and whilst Agrippa II. continued his journey to Rome, Titus returned to his father.

Did Agrippa II. return to Vespasian without seeing Otho or Vitellius, and could he have been with him so early as July, A.D. 69, when Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor? I cannot with certainty say.¹⁷²

In any case it seems to me excessively improbable that coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, with the name of Agrippa II., should have been issued at the very moment when Vespasian was elected Emperor, and in the very midst of the excitement taking place at this time.

When the Jewish war was concluded, in A.D. 70, and matters were more settled in Palestine and at Rome, Vespasian is said to have presented Agrippa II. with additions to his territory, and I am therefore the more inclined to think that the coins of Domitian with the date **ET. KS**, and to which I shall allude in their proper place, give us the standard of an era to which many of the coins of Agrippa II. may be assigned.

Assuming this to be the case, the coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, with the dates **ET. ΔΙ**, and **L. ΙΔ** were struck in A.D. 74—75.

I do not think that anything can be gathered from the difference of the expression for the word "year"—**ET.** and **L.**

No. 2. Date **ETOY. ΗΙ** (year 18). This belongs to

¹⁷² See the note No. 151, in the life of Agrippa II.

the same era as the previous coins, and, according to my theory, should be assigned to A.D. 78—79.

No. 3. Date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΣ** (year 26). I agree with De Sauley that this date must be reckoned from the Chalcian era, and that the coin was issued in A.D. 74—75.

No. 4. Date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΖ** (year 27). Also Chalcian era. Issued in A.D. 75—76.

No. 5. Date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΘ** (year 29). Also Chalcian era. Issued in A.D. 77—78.

AGRIPPA II., WITH THE NAME OF TITUS.

1. *Obr.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡ . . . CΑΡ ΤΙΤ. CΕΒΑC.** Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**Λ. ΙΔ ΒΑCΙ. ΑΓΡΙΠΟΥ.** Deity (without modius) standing to left, holding ears of corn and cornu-copiae. (De Sauley [from his own collection], p. 29, D, No. 1; he adds, “No. 2 de Madden, p. 121 et 122, qui attribue faussement cette pièce à Vespasien.”—“Trésor,” Pl. LXI. No. 2. The coin engraved in the “Trésor” is very indistinct, but the description given in the text of that work is **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕC . . . CΕΒΑCΤΩ.** I do not doubt that De Sauley’s attribution is correct.)



2. *Obr.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙC . . CΕΒ.** Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**Λ. ΙΔ ΒΑC. ΑΓΡΙΠΠ.** Victory walking to the right, holding a palm and a crown. (Reichardt, “Numismatische Zeitschrift,” 1871, p. 83, *seq.* Wien. De Sauley, p. 29, D, No. 2, publishes a variety with the legend **Λ. ΙΔ ΒΑC. ΑΓΡΙΠΟΥ.** He adds: “Madden, p. 126 et 127, doute de l’existence de cette pièce. Il a bien

tort! J'en possède un exemplaire." This statement is incorrect, and shows that the English language must be imperfectly understood by De Sauley. I never doubted the existence of pieces of this date.—The coin is also published by Mionnet, vol. v. p. 572, No. 110; and in the "Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 7. De Sauley also publishes a barbarous piece of the same type, D, No. 3.)

3. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚ . . ΚΑΙC . . . ΑCΤΟC.** Type as No. 1.
Rev.—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΙΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Deity with modius on head standing to the left, holding ears of corn and cornu-copiae. (Madden, p. 124, No. 1, from the specimen in Paris; De Sauley, p. 29, D, No. 4.)
4. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC.** Type as No. 1.
Rev.—**ΕΤΟΥ. Κ. ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠ . .** Victory walking to the right holding a crown and a palm. (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 573, No. 113; Madden, p. 126, note 3.)
5. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑ.** Type as No. 1.
Rev.—**ΕΤΟ. ΚC ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Same type as No. 4; before the Victory, a star. (Madden, p. 125, No. 2; cf. "Trésor," Pl. LXI. Nos. 10, 11; De Sauley, p. 30, D, No. 6.)
6. *Obv.*—**. . . ΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC.** Type as No. 1.
Rev.—**ΕΤΟ. ΚC Β. . . ΓΡΙΠΠ .** Same type as No. 4; a crescent above the arm which holds the crown. (De Sauley, p. 30, D, No. 5.)
7. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. Τ . . . ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC.** Type as No. 1.
Rev.—**ΕΤΟ. ΚΖ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Same type as No. 4; in the field, a crescent. (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 573, No. 117; Madden, p. 126, note 3.)
8. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC.** Type as No. 1.
Rev.—**Λ. ΚΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Type as No. 4. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 6; Madden, p. 125.)

9. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΥ**. Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠ**. Type as No. 4.
(Madden, p. 125, No. 3.)

I have already made some remarks on these two coins under "Vespasian, No. 5." No. 8 is certainly a coin of Titus. No. 9 may be a Vespasian.

Remarks on Coins of Agrippa II., with the Name of Titus.

DE SAULEY'S ARRANGEMENT (p. 50).—No. 1, with the date **Λ. ΙΔ** (year 14), was struck in A.D. 69 [De Sauley by error prints 79], counting from the "era of Agrippa."

No. 2, with the same date, but a different type, belongs to the same year.

No. 3, with the date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΙΘ** (year 19), was struck in A.D. 73—74.

De Sauley here remarks that perhaps we should read **ΚΘ** (29), and that then we should have a piece struck at the same time as the No. 5 of Vespasian, and issued at Chalcis in A.D. 77—78. He, however, modifies this later, as specimens of the coins of Domitian, with **ΕΤΟ. ΙΘ**, are in existence.

Nos. 5 and 6, with the date **ΕΤΟ. ΚΣ** (year 26), were struck on the Chalcian era in A.D. 74—75.

De Sauley observes that the "year 26" of the "era of Agrippa" corresponds to A.D. 80—81, and that one might attribute these coins to that year after the death of Vespasian. He however adds that the existence of coins of Vespasian with the same date makes him doubt the value of this last hypothesis.

F. W. MADDEN'S ARRANGEMENT. — Nos. 1 and 2. Date **Λ. ΙΔ** (year 14).

I have given under Vespasian my reasons for assigning the date A.D. 74—75 to Nos. 1 and 2.

No. 3. Date **ETOY. IO** (year 19). For the same reasons the coin with this date would have been struck in A.D. 79—80.

No. 4. Date **ETOY. K** (year 20). Not mentioned by De Sauley. Published by Mionnet.

If a coin with this date really exists, it would have to be assigned to the same era as the three previous ones, and would have been issued in A.D. 80—81, and on Sept. 13th, A.D. 81, Titus died. As, however, it bears the same type as the coins with the date **KS**, I am inclined to think that the coin has been imperfectly read, and that *a unit*, and perhaps *the unit S*, is wanting.

Nos. 5 and 6. Date **ETO. KS** (year 26).

No. 7. Date **ETO. KZ** (year 27). Not mentioned by De Sauley. Published by Mionnet.

No. 8. **L. KO** (year 29). See the remarks on this date under the coins of Vespasian No. 5, and Titus Nos. 8 and 9.

I may here remark that the arrangement of these coins of Titus adopted by me,¹⁷³ was based upon the supposition that coins of Titus, with Agrippa II., were not issued till after the death of Vespasian in A.D. 79, and that consequently they were struck on the era commencing from the time when Agrippa II. received the tetrarchy of Philip from Claudius in A.D. 53. I at the same time suggested that it was possible they might have been issued on the "Chalcian era" during the life-time of his father.

De Sauley gives no coins whatever to the era of the "tetrarchy of Philip." He has assigned these coins to the "Chalcian era."

¹⁷³ "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 126, and Table II. p. 324.

I do not see any objection to this, and am rather inclined to think that they are cotemporary with the coins of Vespasian bearing the same date.

ΕΤΟ. ΚΣ (year 26) will therefore represent A.D. 74—75.

ΕΤΟ. ΚΖ (year 27), A.D. 75—76.

Λ. ΚΘ (year 29), A.D. 77—78.

AGRIPPA II., WITH THE NAME OF DOMITIAN.

1. *Obr.*—**ΔΟΜΙΤΙ . . ΚΑΙCΑΡ.** Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**Λ. ΙΔ ΒΑΣ. ΑΓΡΙΠΟΥ.** Victory standing to the left, writing on a shield. (“Trésor,” Pl. LXI. No. 12; Madden, p. 127, No. 1; De Sauley, p. 30, E, No. 1.)

2. *Obr.*—**. . . ΚΑΙCΑΡ.** Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟ. ΙΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠ** . Galley. (“Trésor,” Pl. LXI. No. 13; Madden, p. 128, No. 2; De Sauley, p. 30, E, No. 2.)

3. *Obr.*—**ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ.** Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟ. ΚΓ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Victory standing, writing on a shield which is placed on her knee. (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 574, No. 122; Madden, p. 131, note 9.)

De Sauley, p. 31, in a *note* says, “Je doute fort de l'existence de cette pièce.” But why?

4. *Obr.*—**ΔΟΜΕΤ. ΚΑΙCΑΡ.** Bust of Domitian to the right, laureated, with ægis.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟ. ΚΔ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Victory flying to right. (“Trésor,” Pl. LXI. No. 14; Madden, p. 128, No. 3; De Sauley, p. 30, E, No. 3.)

5. *Obr.*—**ΔΟΜΙΤ. ΚΑΙC. ΓΕΡΜΑ.** Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟ. ΔΚ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Victory standing to right, placing left foot on helmet, and writing

on shield. In field, to left, a crescent. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 15; Madden, p. 128, No. 4; De Sauley, p. 30, *note* to E, No. 4.)

6. A similar piece. In field, to right, a star. Date illegible. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 9; Madden, p. 129; De Sauley, p. 30, *note* to E, No. 4.)

7. *Obv.*—ΔΟΜΕΤ. ΓΕΡΜΑ. Type as No. 1.

Rev.—Ο. ΚΔ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Type as No. 5.
(De Sauley, p. 30, E, No. 4.)

8. *Obv.*—ΔΟΜΕΤ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝ. Type as No. 1.

Rev.—ΕΤΟ. ΚΔ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Within a wreath.
(Madden, p. 129, No. 5; De Sauley, p. 30, E, No. 6.)

9. *Obv.*—ΔΟΜΕΤ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΓΕΡΜ. Type as No. 1.

Rev.—ΕΤ. ΚΕ ΒΑΣ. ΑΓΡΙΠ. Palm tree. ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. No. 1; Madden, p. 129, No. 6; De Sauley, p. 30, E, No. 7; a similar piece is given by De Sauley, E, No. 5.)

10. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. DIVI VESP. F. DOMITIAN
. . . XII. Type as No. 1.

Rev.—ΕΠΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡ.; in the field, ΕΤ. ΚΕ; below S. C. In the field one side SALVTI, and on the other AVGVST. Large altar with the door shut. (De Sauley, p. 55 from Sestini, "Descriz. d. Med. Ant. Gr. del Mus. Hederv." iii. p. 120, No. 10; Mionnet, Suppl. viii. p. 380, No. 5.)

11. *Obv.*—IM. CA. D. VESP. F. DOM. AV. GER.
COS. XII. Type as No. 1.

Rev.—SALVTI AVGVST. S.C. ΕΠΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙ.
ΕΤ. ΚΣ. Altar. (Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iii. p. 494.)

12. *Obv.*—IM. CA. D. VES. F. DOM. AV. GER.
COS. XII. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated, with ægis.

Rev.—**ΕΠΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙ.** Two cornua-copiae; between them a caduceus. In field **ΕΤ. ΚΣ.** At foot of the cornua-copiae, **S. C.** ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. No. 3; Madden, p. 130, No. 8; De Sauley, p. 31, E, Nos. 13 and 14; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 575, No. 130.)

13. *Obr.*—Legend and type as No. 12.

Rev.—**ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣ. ΑΓΡΙ.** In field, **S. C.** In exergue **ΕΤ. ΚΣ.** ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. Nos. 4 and 5; Madden, p. 130, No. 9; De Sauley, p. 31, E, No. 15.)

14. *Obr.*—**ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.** Type as No. 1. Two countermarks.

Rev.—**ΕΤ. ΚΣ ΒΑΣΙ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Type as No. 5. ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. No. 2; Madden, p. 129, No. 7; De Sauley, p. 31, E, No. 11, who states that he has a specimen with **ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΣ ΒΑΣΙ. ΑΓΡΙΠ.** He also publishes three other varieties of this coin, E, Nos. 9, 10, 12.)

15. *Obr.*—**ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.** Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟ. ΚΖ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Two cornua-copiae. ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. No. 6; Madden, p. 131, No. 10; De Sauley, p. 31, E, No. 16.)

16. *Obr.*—**ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.** Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**ΘΧ ΥΟΤΞ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Victory to the right, left foot on helmet, leaning on shield. (Reichardt, Numismatische Zeitschrift, 1871, p. 83, seq. Wien.)

17. *Obr.*— **ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ.** Bust of Domitian to right.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟ. ΑΛ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Victory walking to right. ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. No. 7; Madden, p. 132; De Sauley, p. 31, E, No. 17; Mionnet, Supp. viii. p. 380, No. 6, gives the obverse legend **ΔΟΜΕΤ. (sic) ΚΑΙΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ.**)

18. *Obr.*— **ΤΟ · ΔΟΜ.** Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**ΕΤ. ΕΛ. ΒΑ. ΑΓΡ.** Within a crown. ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. No. 8—it is impossible to trace any legends from the engraving; Madden, p. 132, No. 12; De Sauley, p. 32, E, No. 18, who says that he possesses a specimen with **ΔΟΜΙ.** on obverse, and the reverse legend readable.)

19. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ** (*sic*)
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ. Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΕΛ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Turreted female standing to left on the prow of a vessel, holding in right hand ears of corn (?) and in left a cornucopiæ. (Madden, p. 132, No. 14; Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii. p. 276, Pl. VI. No. 6; De Sauley, p. 32, E, No. 19.)

20. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΣΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ.** Type as No. 1.

Rev.—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΕΛ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ.** Victory marching to the right, holding crown and palm-branch. (Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii. p. 275; Madden, p. 132, No. 13; De Sauley, p. 32, E, No. 20.)

AGRIPPA II., WITHOUT THE NAME OF DOMITIAN.

21. *Obv.*—**ΒΑ. ΑΓΡ.** Turreted head.

Rev.—**ΕΤ. ΔΛ.** Cornucopiæ. ("Trésor," Pl. LX. No. 12; Madden, p. 132, No. 11; De Sauley, p. 28, A, No. 4.)

Remarks on Coins of Agrippa II. with the Name of Domitian.

DE SAULCY'S ARRANGEMENT (p. 51).—No. 1, with the date **Λ. ΙΔ** (year 14), was struck in A.D. 69, on the "era of Agrippa."

No. 2, with date **ΕΤΟ. ΙΘ** (year 19), in A.D. 73—74, on the same era.

No. 3, with date **ΕΤΟ. ΚΓ** (year 23), is, as already stated, doubted by De Sauley.

No. 4 with date **ΕΤΟ. ΚΔ** (year 24).

Respecting this piece De Sauley (p. 52) says—"C'est là une pièce isolée, et dont il est assez malaisé de deviner l'origine, aucune des pièces de Vespasien et de Titus ne présentant cette même date. Domitien n'y porte encore que le titre de César. L'an xxiv. de l'ère définitive d'Agrippa II. correspondrait à 78—79, année qui a précédé la mort de Vespasien. Je pense donc qu'il s'agit encore ici de l'ère de Chalcis, sûrement adoptée en l'an **KS**, xxvi., et que, par conséquent, la pièce a été frappée entre 72 et 73."

Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, with the date **ΔK** or **KΔ** (year 24).

On Nos. 5, 6, and 7 appears the type of the Victory turning *to the right*, as on No. 4; on No. 8 the legend is within a wreath; ¹⁷⁴ on all the title of *Germanicus* occurs.

It is necessary here again to quote De Sauley's own words (p. 52):—"Mais ici se présente une difficulté; Domitien porte le titre de Germanique. Or il est certain que ce prince n'a pris officiellement ce titre, à Rome, qu'en l'an 84, lorsqu'il était seul sur le trône. Nous devons pour expliquer la présence de ce titre, avoir recours à une hypothèse tout-à-fait analogue à celle qui seule a pu nous faire comprendre pour Titus l'emploi des titres Autokrator et Sebastos, du vivant de son père. Nous savons qu'en 70 Domitien entreprit contre les Germains une guerre que son père n'avait pas ordonnée, et que cette conduite un peu inconsidérée lui valut un blâme sévère de la part de Vespasien. Quelque flatteur, et il y en avait sûrement en Syrie, aura profité de cela pour faire donner à

¹⁷⁴ No. 8, though given in De Sauley's list (p. 30) under E, No. 6, is not alluded to by him in his remarks (p. 52). The whole of the references in De Sauley's paper, from this point to the end (pp. 52—54), are incorrectly printed; for instance, No. 6 should be No. 7, No. 7 should be No. 8, and so on up to No. 19, which should be No. 20. These misprints at first caused me an infinity of trouble.

Domitien un titre qu'il n'avait pas mérité, mais qui devait lui plaire fort, puisqu'il se l'appliqua plus tard."

De Sauley, therefore, classes these coins with the date "year 24" to 72—73 of the "era of Chalcis."

No. 9, with date **ET. KE** (year 25), is given to the same era, and was struck in A.D. 73—74.

No. 14, with date **ET. KS** (year 26), to A.D. 74—75.

No. 15, with date **ETO. KZ** (year 27), to A.D. 75—76.¹⁷⁵

We thus have, says De Sauley, for Domitian an uninterrupted series of coins from **KΔ** to **KZ**, *i.e.* from A.D. 72 to A.D. 76.

Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13. No. 10 with date **ET. KE** (year 25); Nos. 11, 12, 13, with date **ET. KS** (year 26).

The date of these coins is fixed by the Cos. XII. on the obverse. Domitian was consul for the twelfth time in A.D. 86. The coins in question must then, of necessity, have been struck in this year.

But says De Sauley (p. 53):—"Que devient la date **ET. KS**, l'an xxvi. ? elle ne rentre dans aucune des ères employées par Agrippa II. Il faut donc nécessairement admettre que cette année représente celle d'une ère particulière de ville. On a cru que le type des cornes d'abondance et du caducée, qui se rencontre sur des impériales de Tibériade, classait à la même ville la

¹⁷⁵ This No. 15 in my list is the same piece as De Sauley's E, No. 16 (p. 31), called in error No. 15 on p. 53. On p. 52 De Sauley says "Enfin le numéro 11, toujours au même type, est daté **ETO. KZ**, l'an xxvii., c'est-à-dire de 75 à 76." But No. 11 (which, as I have shown in the previous note, should be No. 12) is a coin with the date **ET. KS**!! (De Sauley, E, No. 12, p. 31; see under No. 14 of Domitian in my list.) De Sauley (p. 53) suggests that it may have been struck at Neronias, but adds "*cela est plus que douteux.*"

monnaie dont nous nous occupons; mais c'est là une attribution bien hasardée. N'avons nous pas en effet rencontré plus haut une pièce de Néronias offrant précisément le même type? Or, si la pièce était de Néronias, ville dont nous avons fixé à l'an 60 l'inauguration sous ce nouveau nom, l'an xxvi. de l'ère, dont le point de départ a pu coïncider avec cette inauguration, serait précisément l'an 86, année du douzième consulat de Domitien. On ne trouvera pas mauvais, j'imagine, que je m'en tienne à cette solution, que je n'abandonnerai qu'à la condition qu'on m'en offrira une plus probable et plus naturelle. Il est vrai que cela n'explique pas la présence de la formule **S. C.**, mais je n'ai pas la prétention de tout deviner."

With respect to the date **KE**, De Sauley adds (p. 56), "Cette fois nous nous trouvons en face de la date **L. KE** (l'an xxv.) [*read ET. KE*] correspondant au même 12^e consulat de Domitien, c'est-à-dire à l'an 86 de J.-C. Nous en devons forcément conclure que ce 12^e consulat a été réparti sur les deux années xxv. et xxvi. de l'ère de Néronias."

No. 17 with date **ETO. AA** (year 31).

This reading is doubtful. The date may be **ΔΛ** (34).

De Sauley says that if it is the year xxxi. of Chalcis, then the piece was struck in A.D. 79—80; if year xxxi. of the "era of Agrippa," then in A.D. 84—86 [*read 85—86*]. If xxxiv. is the correct date the coin, according to the "era of Chalcis," would have been issued in A.D. 82—83, the year in which Domitian would have taken the titles Autokrator and Sebastos; and if on the "era of Agrippa," in A.D. 86—87 [*read 88—89*].

De Sauley believes that **ETO. AA** is the correct reading.

Nos. 18, 19, 20 with date **ET.** or **ETOY. EA** (year 35)

De Sauley considers to have been struck on "the Chalcian era" in A.D. 83—84.¹⁷⁶

No. 21 with date **ET. ΔΛ** (year 34).

This coin, though mentioned by De Sauley in his list, (p. 28, A, No. 4), is not alluded to by him in his remarks.

F. W. MADDEN'S ARRANGEMENT.—No. 1. Date **L. ΙΔ** (year 14).

I have given, under Vespasian, my reasons for assigning these coins to A.D. 74—75.¹⁷⁷

No. 2. Date **ETO. ΙΘ** (year 19).

For the same cause this coin was issued in A.D. 79—80.

No. 3. Date **ETO. ΚΓ** (year 23).

Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Date **ETO. ΔΚ** or **ΚΔ** (year 24).

No. 9. Date **ET. ΚΕ** (year 25).

¹⁷⁶ It will be seen that De Sauley is not certain about the date of No. 17, but that he positively assigns Nos. 18, 19 and 20 to the "era of Chalcis." I have failed to discover the distinction which led to this opinion.

¹⁷⁷ Cavedoni ("Princ. Quest. riguardanti la Num. Giud.," p. 16 *note*, extracted from vol. v. series ii. of the "Opuscoli Religiosi, Litterarj e Morali" of Modena; and "Nuovi Studi sopra le Ant. Mon. Giud.," p. 25, *note* 5, in vol. i. series ii. of the same journal) thinks that the coins of Agrippa II. and Domitian with the type of Victory standing writing on a shield, as also the coins with the legend **ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ**, were probably struck at Nicopolis in Judæa. Nicopolis was founded after the capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 71. It was formerly called Emmaus, and when Judæa was put up for sale, Titus assigned this place for the habitation of 800 men whom he had dismissed from the army (Jos., "Bell. Jud." vii. 6, 6). He is therefore of opinion that the dates **ΙΔ** (14), **ΔΚ** (24), and **ΚΣ** (26), correspond to A.D. 83, 93, 95, and were struck during the long reign of Domitian. I do not think that this suggestion (as regards the coins of Agrippa II.) is tenable. Eckhel (vol. iii. p. 441) considers the coins with the legend **ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ** struck in some Greek city; and De Sauley ("Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 78) considers they were certainly struck in Palestine, but cannot name the town. I shall allude to these coins in a later section.

No. 14. Date **ET. KS** (year 26).

No. 15. Date **ETO. KZ** (year 27).

With the exception of No. 3, **ETO. KΓ** (which is doubted by De Sauley, but for no specific reason), De Sauley, as above shown, has attributed all these coins to the "Chalcian era," placing the issue of the earliest of them in A.D. 72—73.

This attribution is made notwithstanding that there are *no coins* of Vespasian and Titus of so early a date that can be given to this era, and that on the pieces with the date **ΔK** or **KΔ** the title *Germanicus* occurs..

It is quite true, as De Sauley observes, that in A.D. 70 Domitian made an expedition with Mucianus against the Germans,¹⁷⁸ and numismatists have not been wanting¹⁷⁹ in assigning coins bearing the title of *Germanicus* to dates earlier than A.D. 84, in which year Domitian assumed the title at Rome. But these coins have in all cases been misread. There are certainly no coins issued at Rome with this title earlier than A.D. 84, and there are none issued after this year without it. The coins of Domitian struck at Alexandria help to corroborate this. The title **ΓΕΡΜ.** first occurs on his Alexandrian coins of the third year struck at the close of A.D. 83.¹⁸⁰

Is it then at all probable that in Syria—and in Syria only—coins of Domitian would have been struck with the title of *Germanicus* as early as A.D. 72—73? I think not.

¹⁷⁸ Suet., "Dom." 2.

¹⁷⁹ See Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 396. Martial (Lib. ii. Epig. 2), as Eckhel has observed, who was most fulsome in his praise of Domitian, only intended to hint that Domitian was worthy of the title of *Germanicus*. The same poet gives Domitian the name of *Dacicus*, but this title is not found on his coins (Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. vi. p. 268).

¹⁸⁰ Eckhel, vol. iv. p. 60.

Besides, in my opinion, to corroborate De Sauley's arrangement it will be necessary to find coins of Vespasian and Titus with the dates **ΚΓ** and **ΚΔ**, and these at present have not been discovered.

To what date then shall these pieces be assigned? Here is the difficulty.

From the system adopted by me,¹⁸¹ based on the dates of the coins of Agrippa II. and Domitian with the twelfth consulship, to which I shall presently allude, I assigned these coins to the "era of Tiberias," and in this era the dates of these coins, with the date **ΔΚ** and **ΚΔ** (24), exactly fell in the year A.D. 84—85, the very time of the assumption of the title of *Germanicus* by Domitian.

The objection that may be raised against my attributions is this, that on the coins assigned by me to the years from A.D. 83 to A.D. 96, there is only the title of *Cæsar*, and Domitian succeeded to the Empire in A.D. 81.

This objection, however, is not a very serious one, and even De Sauley in his system has been compelled to give the coins with date **ΕΛ** (35) to the year A.D. 83—84. For I find that coins of Domitian are existing issued after his accession at various cities of Palestine and Syria *without* the title of *Sebastos*. At Neapolis, with the legend **ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ**, and date **Λ. ΑΙ** (year 11) = A.D. 82—83;¹⁸² at Sebaste, with the legends **IMP DO . . . CAESAR** or **CAESAR IMP. DOMITIAN**, and date **Λ. ΘΡ** (year 109) = A.D. 84;¹⁸³ and at

¹⁸¹ "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 131.

¹⁸² De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 244.

¹⁸³ De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 276.

Canata with the legend **ΔOMITI. KAICAP** and date **ZNP** (157) = A.D. 93;¹⁸⁴ and Domitian died in A.D. 96.

De Sauley seems to have ignored the facts (1) that the kingdom of Chalcis, at some period after it was taken away from Agrippa II., was given to the rightful heir, Aristobulus, son of Herod, King of Chalcis, and that he was still king of Chalcis about the years A.D. 74--76, during the reign of Vespasian,¹⁸⁵ and (2) that under Domitian it was added to the Roman Empire, and then received the name of *Flavia*.¹⁸⁶

I am, therefore, inclined to think that no coins bearing the name of Domitian were issued on the "Chalcian era."

Though, after the Jewish war, Judæa, Galilee, and a great part of Idumæa were wasted, the dominions of Agrippa II. were for the most part respected,¹⁸⁷ and though Domitian demanded the payment of the Jewish tribute with the utmost severity,¹⁸⁸ and allowed the most horrible atrocities to be committed,¹⁸⁹ it seems likely, as we possess coins of Agrippa II. and Domitian undoubtedly struck in A.D. 86, that Agrippa II. was left in peace.

The latest dated Jewish coin, *i. e.* **ET. EA** (year 35), attributed by De Sauley to A.D. 83--84 of the "Chalcian era," falls, in my arrangement, in the year A.D. 95--96, the year previous to the death of Domitian, and there is not much doubt that in this year the Jews were included in the persecution of the Christians.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁴ De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 400.

¹⁸⁵ Jos., "Bell. Jud." vii. 7, 1.

¹⁸⁶ Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 265.

¹⁸⁷ Milman, "Hist. of the Jews," vol. iii. p. 95.

¹⁸⁸ "Judæicus fiscus acerbissime actus est."—Suet., "Dom." 12.

¹⁸⁹ Suet. *in loc.*

¹⁹⁰ Dion, 67, 13, 14.

The dates of the coins, according to my arrangement, will therefore be—

| | |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| KΓ | (23) = A.D. 83—84. |
| KΔ | } (24) = A.D. 84—85. |
| or ΔK | |
| KE | (25) = A.D. 85—86. |
| KS | (26) = A.D. 86—87. |
| KZ | (27) = A.D. 87—88. |

I have shown my reasons for disagreeing with the attribution of these coins to the “Chalcian era,” and I have recapitulated my original theory as to their arrangement. I am, however, able to make another suggestion.

De Sauley, as I have previously stated,¹⁹¹ assigns no coins to the “era of the tetrarchy of Philip.”

Could these coins be given to that era?

It commenced in A.D. 53, and, consequently, coins with the dates—

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------|---------------------|----------------|
| KΓ | (23) | would correspond to | A.D. 75—76. |
| KΔ | } (24) | ,, | ,, A.D. 76—77. |
| or ΔK | | | |
| KE | (25) | ,, | A.D. 77—78. |
| KS | (26) | ,, | A.D. 78—79. |
| KZ | (27) | ,, | A.D. 79—80. |

and would all have been struck previous to his accession in A.D. 81. There still, however, remains the difficulty of the title *Germanicus*.

We may now pass on to examine the curious and important coins of the 12th consulship of Domitian.

No. 10. Date **ET. KE** (year 25).

No. 11. Same type. Date **ET. KS** (year 26).

Nos. 12, 13. Date **ET. KS** (year 26).

No 10, with the date **ET. KE** and with the legend

¹⁹¹ See my remarks on the coins of Titus.

SALVTI AVGVST., is published, as above stated, by De Sauley from Sestini.

I find that Mionnet¹⁹² has also published the same coin from Sestini.

The same identical coin may also be found in De Sauley's new work,¹⁹³ and is there described as "*une pièce frottée, passée de la collection Wigan dans celle de M. le Comte Cahen d'Anvers.*"

I do not remember seeing this piece in the Wigan collection.

It has, however, escaped the notice of De Sauley, as it had already escaped mine when I issued my book, that Eckhel,¹⁹⁴ from Hardouin¹⁹⁵ and Frölich,¹⁹⁶ publishes a similar piece (see our No. 11), but with the date **ET. KS** (year 26).

I should have been inclined to doubt the reading of the piece given in Sestini and Mionnet, but suppose that one must accept as correct the description of the same piece from the Wigan collection.

It is, therefore, necessary to conclude with De Sauley that the 12th consulship of Domitian extended over two years (25 and 26) of the era of the town in which these pieces were struck.

We have already seen that the date of all these coins is fixed by the Cos. XII. to A.D. 86, that De Sauley, in order to corroborate his theory of the coinage of Agrippa II., shows that they could not belong to any of the eras of Agrippa II. as given by him, and that he therefore

¹⁹² Suppl., vol. viii. p. 380, No. 5.

¹⁹³ "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 316.

¹⁹⁴ Vol. iii. p. 494.

¹⁹⁵ Num. Herod.

¹⁹⁶ Reg. Vet., p. 111.

assigns them to a special "era of the town of Neronias," commencing about A.D. 60.

A corroboration of this theory would certainly seem to be found in the remarkable coin of Domitian published in De Sauley's new work.¹⁹⁷

The following is the description :—

Obv.—**IMP. CAE. DIVI VESP. F. DOMITIAN. AVG . . . COS. XII.** Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**MONETA (CAES) (?) AVGV. S.P.** Deity to the left, holding in right hand a balance and in left a cornu-copiae ; above, in the field, to right and left, **ET—KS** ; below, **S. C.** (The **S** is placed between the two basons of the balance.)

The letters **S. P.** on the reverse are interpreted by De Sauley as *Sub Panio*, and are the Latin equivalent of the words **ΥΠΟ ΠΑΝΕΙΩ**, which occur on the coins of Panias from the time of Aurelius.

De Sauley gives a woodcut of this rare coin (which is in his own collection), which differs considerably from his description. On the obverse the word **CAE** is **CAES**, and the legend stops at **AVG.** Whether **COS. XII.** is on the coin it is impossible to say from the cut, whilst on the reverse the word **CAES**, which De Sauley has queried, is drawn quite distinctly.

This is a great pity, though I see nothing for it but to accept as correct De Sauley's description.¹⁹⁸

In these circumstances there certainly seems much probability in De Sauley's argument, that the coins of Agrippa II. with the dates **ET. KE** and **ET. KS** and

¹⁹⁷ " Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 315.

¹⁹⁸ I had hoped to obtain from M. de Sauley a cast of the coin, but this gentleman informed Mr. Head that he had sold his collection to Hoffmann, who in his turn had disposed of it to some Russian nobleman. It will therefore probably turn up again when Macaulay's New Zealander makes his appearance.

COS. XII. were struck at Neronias (Panias). They were certainly issued in a different place to the other coins of Agrippa II. and Domitian (Nos. 9 and 14), also with the dates **ETO. KE** and **ETO. KS**, and to which I have previously alluded in the earlier portion of these remarks.

I have already remarked¹⁹⁹ that whilst De Sauley has assigned the above coins to the supposed "era of Neronias," he has not assigned, and for very good reasons, to the same era those pieces issued under Nero which were undoubtedly struck at this town.

For the absence of the name of Agrippa II. on this coin of Domitian, De Sauley is unable to account, but he adds,²⁰⁰ "ce que nous pouvons affirmer, c'est que jusqu'ici on n'a pas retrouvé une seule pièce d'Agrippa II. postérieure à cette date. Aurait-il donc décidé qu'à partir de cette année 86, le nom de l'Empereur seul paraîtrait désormais sur les monnaies émises dans le royaume d'Agrippa II. ? Cela est fort possible."

It has been suggested²⁰¹ that these coins of Domitian and Agrippa II. were struck at Tiberias, firstly, because the legend **SALVTI AVGVST.** receives some corroboration from a coin of Trajan bearing the type of *Salus*,²⁰² and, secondly, because the type of the two cornua-copieæ also occurs on the coins of this emperor issued in this town.²⁰³ But in the face of the rare coin published by De Sauley, it would seem as if this theory could not be supported.

¹⁹⁹ See the coins of Agrippa II. under Nero.

²⁰⁰ "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 316.

²⁰¹ "Trésor," p. 129; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 131; Cavedoni, "Principali Questioni," &c., in vol. v., *Opuscoli Religiosi*, &c., Modena, p. 16, *note of tirage a part*.

²⁰² Mionnet, vol. v. p. 484, No. 56; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 335.

²⁰³ The description in Mionnet (vol. v. p. 484, No. 54) is

Be it as it may, there is not the slightest doubt that the pieces in question were struck in A.D. 86, which date would equally apply to the suggested "era of Neronias," or to the "era of Tiberias."²⁰⁴

With respect to Tiberias, it is certain that this town belonged to Agrippa II. from the time when it was given to him by Nero till his death, in A.D. 100, and that immediately on his decease it again formed part of the Roman Empire, coins of Trajan being extant bearing the dates 80 and 81 of Tiberias, corresponding to A.D. 100 and A.D. 101.²⁰⁵

On the peculiar legends on these coins various surmises have been made.²⁰⁶ De Sauley,²⁰⁷ in speaking of the letters **S. C.**, thinks that they may probably refer to a local senate, *i. e.*, to a decision of the college of *Decuriones*.

The legend **SALVTI AVGVST.** here found on the coins of the 12th consulship does not occur on the coins issued at Rome at this time, but it may be found on those of the 10th and 11th consulship (A.D. 84, A.D. 85). Whether Domitian had any serious illness in these years justifying this legend it is impossible to say, but it would seem as if he was constantly fearing his death, and he may perhaps have wished frequent prayers to be made for his health and safety.²⁰⁸

incorrect in respect to the date **ET. IS.** This should be **ET. 4** [year 90]. (De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 336.)

²⁰⁴ It will be observed that the "era of Neronias" (according to De Sauley) and the "era of Tiberias" (according to me) commence about the same time (see the Table).

²⁰⁵ De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 335.

²⁰⁶ Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 495; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 130.

²⁰⁷ "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 316.

²⁰⁸ "Annum diemque ultimum vitæ jam pridem suspectum habebat; horam etiam necnon et genus mortis. *Adolescentulo*

No. 16. Date **ETOY. KΘ** (year 29). This coin was not known to De Sauley; had it been, I presume he would have attributed it to A.D. 77—78. According to my arrangement it may either belong to A.D. 89—90 of the “era of Tiberias,” or to A.D. 81—82 of the “era of Philip.”

No. 17. Date **ETO. ΑΛ** (year 31). It may either belong to A.D. 91—92 of the “era of Tiberias,” or to A.D. 83—84 of the “era of Philip.”

Nos. 18, 19, 20. Date **ET.** and **ETOY. ΕΛ** (year 35). These may either belong to A.D. 95—96 of the “era of Tiberias,” or to A.D. 87—88 of the “era of Philip.”

No. 21. Date **ET. ΔΛ** (year 34). De Sauley would, I suppose, attribute this coin either to A.D. 82—83 of the “era of Chalcis,” or to A.D. 88—89 of the “era of Agrippa.” It may either belong to A.D. 94—95 of the “era of Tiberias,” or to A.D. 86—87 of the “era of Philip.”

In order to exemplify the different dates that may be assigned to the coins of Agrippa II., I have drawn up a TABLE showing the various proposed arrangements, which I trust will much assist the student of this interesting series of coins.

I must, however, confess that the whole question is most difficult, and I should be loth to speak positively as to the actual correctness of many of the dates.

I cannot better conclude this portion of my remarks than in the words of Eckhel, “Præstat, in tantâ caligine non ultra progredi.”

(To be continued.)

Chaldaei cuncta prædixerant.—Suet., “Dom.” 14. For some peculiarities of this would-be “God and Lord,” see my paper in the Num. Chron., N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 266, *seq.*

XIV.

MEMOIR ON THE LEMLEIN MEDAL.

[Read before the Numismatic Society at the Annual Meeting, June 25, 1857.]

By DR. L. LÆWE, F.R.A.S., M.S.A.P., ETC., ETC.

SIR,—I have much pleasure in laying before the Numismatic Society the result of my researches respecting a very remarkable medal, which has attracted the attention of several learned and distinguished authors.

It was under the consideration of Menestrier, De Boissi, Löwisohn, Carmoly, Bekker, Sylvester de Sacy, Gerson Levi, and Zunz. Some of these authors wrote memoirs on the subject, which were submitted to learned societies; yet, notwithstanding the deep research displayed in their works, they have still left not less than twenty-three letters unexplained, have given no reason for the Latin and Greek parts of the inscription, have made no attempts to discover the date on the reverse of the medal; and, what is worse, they differ greatly with regard to the translation of several very important words. Being so fortunate as to have this medal in my cabinet, I felt induced to examine the legend thereon; and it will now depend on you to say how far I may have succeeded in my humble researches.

Menestrier the Jesuit, in his history of Lyons, published in the year 1696, was the first who gave a description of this medal. "Forty years ago," he says, "Monsieur de Ville, the Canon and Provost of the Église Collegiate de Saint Just, Vicar General and Substitute of the Cardinal

Alphonse Louis de Plessis de Richelieu, having caused some excavations to be made in his house, known by the name of *Bréda*, situate a little below the hill of Fourvière, the work-people found a bronze medal, about six inches in diameter, having on one side the head of an emperor with a laurel crown, attached to the head by a kind of band or embroidered scarf with fringes, which takes up the hair and ties them with the ends of the crown-wreath."

There are in the circle some Hebrew words, which seem to come out of the emperor's mouth. He is represented as a man in middle age, without beard; his ears are free, and a little under his eye, opposite to his nose, he has a wart. Around the neck he has a gorget or breastplate, and there are four Hebrew words disposed in a square towards the four angles of the head:—One is immediately near the forehead; the other behind the knot which ties the two ends of the diadem or crown together; the third is between the chin and the neck; and the fourth is under the tuft of hair tied up behind his head.

Below, where the shoulders ought to project, there is the Latin word "umilitas," and under it the Greek word ΤΑΩΝ, instead of "humilitas" and ταπεινότης.

The reverse of this medal has merely a groove all around without figure, bearing only the legend, "Post tenebras spero lucem felicitatis judex dies ultimus. D. III. M."

Menestrier is of opinion that the figure on this medal represents the king, Louis le Debonnaire. "Thegan, rural bishop of the Church of Treves," he says, "describes him to have been of middling height, having large and lively eyes, a pleasing countenance, a long and well-formed nose, lips of middling size, a full chest, large shoulders, and his arms so strong that there was none his equal in his way of stringing a bow or handling a lance. He had a sweet and

benign countenance, always more inclined to mildness than to anger, which made him well deserve the title of Debonnaire."

In the figure on this medal, Menestrier finds all the peculiarities above described; and from this coincidence he infers, that the medal in question was identically the same which the Jews of Lyons had placed in the cavity of the foundation-stone of their new synagogue, for the building of which, they received permission from Louis le Debonnaire.

He considers his assertion strikingly confirmed by the groove on the reverse of the medal and the legend thereon; it was intended, said he, to be enchased in the foundation-stone; and the legend thereon appears to state that, "after its having been buried in the darkness, it hopes again to see light, were it even on the last day of the world, which will be the judge of felicity."

In the opinion of Menestrier, the letters D. III. M. indicate that the foundation-stone was laid on the third of May.

The numerous points above the letters in the inscription he considers to be the letters Γ , signifying the ineffable name of the Tetragrammaton. "This," he says, "is often to be met with in the Arabic, Persian, Greek, and Spanish translations of the Bible;" and the following is his version of the Hebrew words in the legend:—"God, whose name be praised, conducts, by His eternal and immutable will, all that arrives by His decrees. I have seen the privation and the form. I shall praise Thee, even for that which may arrive in this time, which will come to a termination; and I shall understand the secrets and the decrees of Providence. My God, in whom I place all my glory, preserve Jerusalem, and I shall be filled with joy. O Lord! I shall wait for happiness, which I hope to receive from Thee, my omnipotent God, who forgivest sins."

The Jews, he further observes, have probably immigrated from Africa with the Vandals and the Saracens, who penetrated into Spain, Languedoc, Provence, and even France. The names of Benjamin and Ben Cush, "the son of the right hand," and "the son of Ethiopia," may therefore refer to the fortresses of the Jews. One party having come from Palestine from the tribe of Benjamin, and the other from Ethiopia, and both united afterwards to form one congregation, similar to that which the Lutherans and the Calvinists did, when they united into one synod of Charenton, although they originally descended from different sects.

Menestrier considers his conjectures fully established, on comparing the golden coins struck by Louis le Debonnaire with the figure on the medal in question; and believes the Latin and Greek words, under the head of the figure, to express the submission of the Jews, who, out of respect to that prince, made use of languages in which the latter was considered to be well versed.

I shall make no remark on any of Menestrier's conjectures, for reasons which will afterwards be given. But I will proceed to state the opinions of those who, to a certain extent, followed or adopted his views.

De Boissi, in his "*Dissertations critiques pour servir à l'histoire des Juifs*," printed in the year 1785, was the second who gave an account of this medal. His translation of the legend is more literal than that of Menestrier. He does not ascribe the origin of the medal to a feeling of gratitude, as Menestrier thought, on the part of the Jews towards the emperor, but considers it as a work containing merely, in the legend, a description of the great misery and unspeakable sufferings which the Jews at that time had to endure, and intended to call forth the sympathy and deep compassion of the reigning monarch.

In the year 1820, S. Löwisohn, in his "Vorlesungen," published at Vienna, reported on this medal, and gave the legend thereof in Hebrew characters. "Under Louis le Debonnaire," he says, "the condition of the Jews in France became greatly improved, owing to the great favour bestowed on them by the Empress Judith, whose words are supposed to have had more influence on the affairs of the empire than those of the monarch himself. The Jews often received at court numerous marks of royal favour, and many Jewesses stood in high estimation with the princesses and other distinguished ladies."

Löwisohn, here following entirely the views of Menestrier, I shall not repeat his words. With regard to the Hebrew legend, his opinion is, that the synagogue expresses therein the sentiments of the nation. "The synagogue," he says, "complains of her present mournful state, and prays for a glorious future." His reading of the legend is as follows:—

בגזירת הנוהג יתברך מרצונו הנצחי בתום כל משפט
העדר הצורה ראיתי אורך לזמן ישיגהו הקץ ואתבונן
בהשגחת אלי רוממי הזכר לשומם ואעלו פדותך אוהיל
יתברך צורי רב וסלה

The translation of it, he renders thus:—"By the decree of the Ruler of the universe, praised be he: by His eternal will, by His just visitation (we lay the foundation of this synagogue). I see the deformity (the state of the nation devoid of all splendour), but, notwithstanding this, I shall still have occasion to thank Thee when once my sufferings come to an end. I shall then admire thy providence. My God! my Redeemer! O remember the orphan (nation), and I will rejoice. I am longing after Thy redemption. Be Thou praised, my Creator, Almighty and All-forgiving."¹

¹ For the above abstract of Löwisohn's "Vorlesung," I am

In the Hebrew, Löwisohn reads, אֹרֶךְ “I will praise thee,” instead of אֹרֶךְ “thy light”; רוֹמִי “the Being that raises me on high,” instead of רוֹמִי “Roman”; הוֹכֵר “remember”, instead of הִשְׁאִיר “He caused to remain”; לְשׁוֹמֵם which he translates, “of the orphan people,” instead of רְשׁוֹמֵם “their traces.” The three letters יוֹי, which form an abbreviation of the ineffable name of God, he reads יצ, and considers them as an abbreviation of the two words יְתַבָּרֶךְ צוּרִי, which he translates, “Mayest Thou be praised, my Creator!”

The letters on both sides of the figure, he reads בְּנִימִין בֶּן כּוּשׁ “Benjamin the son of Kush,” which, he says, was probably the name of the warden of the Jewish congregation at Lyons.

In the year 1834, Dr. Eliacin Carmoly published a report on that medal, which he made to the Académie Royale des sciences et belles lettres de Bruxelles. His report is entitled, “Mémoire sur une médaille en l’honneur de Louis-le-Débonnaire,” and I am under obligation to Mr. Akerman for having called my attention to it.

Dr. Carmoly, after stating what Menestrier and De Boissi have said, observes:—“As my opinion on several points does not agree with those of Menestrier and De Boissi, I shall here give a new explanation, which, if I do not mistake, carries with it a high degree of probability. But, before proceeding to give his peculiar ideas on the subject, he gives the following account of the Jewish colony at Lyons.

This colony, he says, owes its origin to Herod the tetrarch, son of Herod the Great, whom the Emperor Caligula exiled to this place (v. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities,

indebted to my learned friend, Mr. M. E Stern, the editor of the כּוֹכְבֵי יִצְחָק.

Book xviii. ch. 9). It increased rapidly in number, in consequence of the Jews having been driven out of their country after the destruction of Jerusalem, and found in Lyons a most advantageous retreat. This large city being so favorably situated respecting the commerce with the Gauls, the Israelites who were compelled to procure for themselves some means of subsistence, devoted themselves with great activity to commerce, and the prosperity which they thereby procured to the city, gained for them the consideration of the people. Under the reign of Charlemagne, they appear to have been considered important citizens of the town, for they inhabited one of the finest quarters, which, at that time, was enclosed by the Saône and the hill of Fourvière. A portion of that quarter retains to this day the name of "Juiverie." On their account, the market, which was usually kept on Saturday, was transferred to Sunday. They had even an imperial overseer, who bore the name of "Maître des Juifs," whose duties were to take care that their privileges should not be infringed.

This state of their prosperity, however, attracted the jealousy of some of their neighbours, and the Bishop Agobard undertook to prosecute them. The Jews complained of his proceedings to the emperor, who immediately caused three commissioners to proceed to Lyons to investigate the case. The latter, having found the complaints of the bishop without foundation, declared the innocence of the Jews, and secured to them the privileges of which the bishop wanted to deprive them. Upon this, the prelate felt much aggravated, and expressed his doubts as to the truth of the commissioners' statement, and did not even hesitate to cast a doubt upon the genuineness of the imperial seal affixed to their credentials. Again he tried to bring a number of accusations against the Jews, and even induced two other

bishops to sign his petition to the emperor; but Edrard, the imperial commissioner, examined the nature of his accusations; and again they were declared to be altogether without foundation.

Bishop Agobard, seeing that all his efforts to injure the Jews were fruitless, determined to repair to the imperial court. He obtained an audience with the emperor, but it was an audience *de congé*. His words had no influence upon the emperor's mind, the Jews remained in favour, and retained all their privileges.

Dr. Carmoly, after having given the preceding account, goes on to say:—"So much justice manifested by an emperor against a bishop, from whom, under the sway of another monarch, a single order would have been sufficient to cause all the Jews to be banished from his diocese, excited in the hearts of the Jews in Lyons sentiments of the deepest gratitude. The chief of their community, being anxious to let the emperor know the high respect and the sincere gratitude which the Israelite community entertain towards him, caused this medal with the effigy of the prince thereon to be struck. This was the highest honour they could confer upon him; but, as their religion distinctly enjoins them not to make any image whatever, they felt, that, by such an act, they would transgress the law; for this reason they implored the forgiveness of God, which is expressed in the Hebrew inscription, invoking the Deity, at the same time, to preserve the life of the emperor."

The translation of the Hebrew legend he renders thus:—"By the decree of Him who governs (blessed may He be!) by His eternal will, and sincerity of all justice, I have seen this perishable figure. But, O! may it last as long as this effigy. I shall reflect on Thy providence, O my God! Rome bequeathed him a part of her renown; and this it is

which makes me to be full of joy. I am waiting for thy deliverance from day to day. The Omnipotent is great, and pardoneth."

The four words on the two sides of the head Dr. Carmoly, like his predecessors, reads, "Benjamin, the son of Cush," a name which, he says, no doubt belonged to the head of the community at Lyons; and the initials, **יו גח יע מי בת**, **תע שא תל חז**, are probably the names of the members thereof.

The memoir of Dr. Carmoly has been well received by the Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles Lettres de Bruxelles, by Professor Bekker and the late Sylvestre de Sacy.

On the 28th of August, 1836, Monsieur Gerson Levi made a report on Dr. Carmoly's Memoire to the Académie des sciences at Metz.

The letters **י"י** which Dr. Carmoly reads as an abbreviation of the Tetragrammaton, he considers to be an abbreviation of the words **יום ויום**, signifying "daily." The letters above the head of the figure, he reads **ישי** "Jesse." The word **צורה** "figure," he reads **צורה** "persecution." The words **רומי השאיר** which Dr. Carmoly translates, "Rome bequeathed," he translates "he has left traces of my elevation," and interprets the whole legend as follows:—"By the decree of him who directs, blessed be He, I have seen the end of the persecution. I contemplate the providence of my God, and rejoice, O Omnipotent!"

Mr. Gerson remarks, that there has not yet been found any medal with the effigy of the French kings before the time of Charles the Seventh. There are *coins* in existence, but no *medals*, of the first two dynasties. "It is well known," he says, "that all medals struck previously to the reign of Charlemagne were spurious, and most of them the invention of Jacques Debuët, and Duval, his associate.

He concludes his report with the following observation. "The beautiful medal now before us, would, if we adopt the opinion of Menestrier, De Boissi, and Carmoly, accuse those numismatists, whose whole life had perhaps been devoted to elaborate researches, of inaccuracies. Let us rather come to the conclusion that the medal in question does not belong to the ninth century. But," continues he, "to which epoch then does it belong?—Well, gentlemen," said he, "if you can tell me what 800 minus 1000, D.III.M. indicates, this appearing to be the date of the medal, I shall be able to answer the last question. Meanwhile," continues he, "there is nothing determined yet; neither the time, nor the occasion which called it forth; and this medal will probably remain classed among the "uncertain," until better numismatists shall find out its original destination.

M. Gerson Levi, then, was the first who declared against Menestrier, De Boissi and Carmoly, that the medal in question does not belong to Louis le Debonnaire. The interpretation of the legend, however, and particularly the abbreviations thereof, made no progress. At last, in the year 1840, Dr. Zunz, in Dr. Jost's *Annalen*, wrote an elaborate report. He noticed the dots on the different words in the legend, and pointed out the Acrosticon. בן בנימין בן הרב מורי הרב ההכם רבי אליהו באר הרופא יהיה שנים רבות ומובות "Benjamin, the son of my respected preceptor, the learned Doctor Rabbi Eliahu Beér, the physician, may he live many happy years." The first word is clear enough, and requires no explanation; the second, בכמה"הר, are the initials of words which were introduced in the fourteenth century, and he quotes instances from Rome, in the year 1496; and the last word, ישרו, is an abbreviation of words, commonly used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when speaking or writing of living persons. It results

from this, he says, that the legend must have been composed in the Papal States, in the fifteenth century. The most complete proof, Dr. Zunz continues, is given by the names of Eliahu Beér Harophé, which, as has been shown elsewhere,² was the name of an individual who, 400 years ago was still living in Rome, Eliahu Beér Harophé, being identical with Elia Beer (Fonte) ben Shabtái. He ordered the canon of Avicenna to be copied for him, and in a postscript to that work, he is distinctly called "the physician." Reference is also made to his son, who is represented as belonging to a learned profession. The time, country, family, and persons to whom the medal in question belongs, is, says Dr. Zunz, thus clearly proved. It comes from Benjamin, the son of Elia Beér, and was made in Rome at a time when his father, Eliahu the physician, was still alive, about the year 1430. This accounts, he observes, for the word 'מר in the legend, as well as for the subject which he selected, viz., an imperial medal. The letter above the head of the figure, the Doctor takes for the letter װ, and considers it to be an abbreviation of the word 'שמי "my name;" for, says he, immediately below there is the name בנימין to be seen. The figure, continues the Doctor, has as little relation to the legend, as the writing has to the manufacturer's mark on the paper. But how can it be accounted for that such a beautifully impressed figure happens to be surrounded by so carelessly an executed inscription, intermixed with words of different legends? The rather forced and doubtful expressions of the legend, might be justified by the acrosticon which the author was anxious to form. The great pains which have been taken in the execution of the

² Dr. Zunz's *Analekten*, No. 5. Joab, in Dr. Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. iii. p. 53.

medal, show that the author must have had some great object in view, and that object, Dr. Zunz says, can only be made known unto us by the proper understanding of the words contained in the legend. He then gives his opinion to the following effect:—"Astrology was much in vogue during the middle ages. By metallic figures of large or small size, the influence upon the earth of heavenly bodies was supposed to be easily obtained. These metallic figures, together with the planets which they were supposed to represent, were called **צורות**. In the fourteenth century, in particular, there were many who pursued the study of that science with great zeal; in the fifteenth century, the sufferings and persecutions which Israel had to endure, together with the approaching time fixed for the arrival of the Messiah, was by several individuals supposed to have been ascertained from the position of the constellations. Jupiter was represented as the harbinger of good tidings; Mars the protecting power of Rome; and Saturn the protecting power of the Jews. It was to such a time," Dr. Zunz says, "that the legend of the medal refers, and all expressions therein, respecting occurrences, sentence, image and redemption, allude to ideas, which, about that period, were particularly fostered.

Possibly, he adds, that Benjamin ben Elia may have, according to his own calculations, fixed upon some time which he thought likely to put a stop to the persecutions the Jews had then to endure; but, to remove the suspicion from the people's mind that he had derived his information from astrology, and moreover, to declare that he offered all praise, and ascribed all glory to the Eternal God, and not to the influence of the stars, he, the author of the legend, said:—"God is the omnipotent and all-ruling being"; whatever Israel has to suffer is a visitation of God alone. Yet the

idea of comfort and consolation which, he said, we derive from our trusting in God alone, he blended with an image of superstition, and recorded his hope in the final victory of Israel round a figure which he considered an emblem of Rome's greatness and power. This figure, he says, must have been to the author of the legend himself, though a Roman, yet a symbol of tyrannical power; and the time of the expected redemption may possibly have been the year 1430—5190; this being the numerical value of the word הק"ן.

He transcribes the legend as follows:—

בגזירת נוהג ית' מרצון נצחי בתם כל משפט העדר הצורה
ראיתי אורך לזמן ישיגהו הקין ואתבונן בהשגחת אלי רומי
השאר רשומם ואעלו פדותך אוהיל יוי שדי רב וסלה
וי גה וע"מ" ב"ת ת"ע ש"א ת"ל ח"ן

And renders it thus:—"By the decree of the divine Disposer, praised be He; by the mercy of the Eternal; whilst all judgment ceases and the image perishes, I behold thy light at the time when redemption will take place, and reflect on the providence of my God. O! Romans, guard from their trace! Thus I shall rejoice, waiting for thy deliverance O God! almighty Ordainer and Forgiver."

With regard to the eighteen letters with which the legend appears to conclude, he says:—"If they do not represent certain numerals or parts of an amulet, they might perhaps represent sentences from the daily prayers. In the first eight letters, he observes, we may perhaps find the initials of

ומגן ישענו גומל הסדים ופודה עניים מצמיה ישועה

The translation of which is:—"And the shield of our salvation, bestowing gracious favours and redeeming the humble. He who causes salvation to spring forth."

The words **בן כוש**, Dr. Z. continues, might have been introduced in imitation of Ps. vii., v. 1, where the name of Benjamin is preceded by the word **כוש**. Thus **על דברי כוש בן ימיני**. All the other words on this medal were perhaps unknown to the author of the Hebrew legend. He does not agree with Menestrier respecting the signification of D.III.M., but he makes no suggestion of any other. The medal, he says, was brought to Lyons with many thousand other objects of antiquity.

Having briefly stated all that has been said on this very remarkable medal, I will now venture to decypher that which all the above-named learned and distinguished authors have yet left for others to do.

But before I proceed with the solution of the sealed sentences contained in the eighteen letters, I will first make a few remarks respecting some *words* in the legend which are complete.

To ascertain the object the author of this or any other medal had in view, the first step the numismatist takes is a scrupulously attentive reading of the legend; but in attempting to do so with the legend on the medal before us, we meet with words of a rather dubious meaning. We must therefore seek for some other means to arrive at proper conclusions. Happily there are some little dots over the first letters in each word of the legend, which to the experienced eye, must, at once, appear of importance.

Menestrier, as stated before, has taken them for the letters " indicating the ineffable name of the Tetragrammaton, but Dr. Zunz found in them the signs for making up the name of the author of the legend, and I think there can be no doubt about the correctness of this supposition. But I differ from him in the interpretation he gives to the words **אלי רומי השאיר רשומם** and **בתם כל משפט העדר הצורה**

The first sentence he translates:—"Whilst all judgment ceases and the image perishes;" and the second by "my God, O Romans! guard from their trace!" It appears to me less strained if we were to translate the first sentence, **העדר הצורה**, by, "When all justice ceased, and consideration for men deserving respect became disregarded." The word **צורה** being a term used to express "men of regard." Thus we find in the Talmud, Treatise **אמר ליה לבריה**, **משקין בית השלחין**, **מזער קטן**, ch. p. 9, **בני אדם הללו אנשים של צורה הם זיל גביכון דליברכך** "R. Shimeon ben Yokhāi said unto his son, 'These people are **אנשים של צורה** men of consideration (i.e., men deserving respect, learned men; as **רש"י** explains the words **של צורה** by **כלומר חכמים**), go unto them,' he said 'that they may favour you with a blessing.'"

Or, if we were to take the word **צורה** as a kabbalistic term signifying the divine attributes of justice and mercy **חסד**, **דין**, &c., by which the omnipotent Creator manifested himself to his creatures, in the same sense as the words **ותמונת העדר הצורה** the **ה'ביט** must be taken. 'The translation of **העדר הצורה** would be, "And all good qualities which man ought to adopt from his Creator ceased."

From what will be said afterwards, it will be seen, that it is very possible the author may have intended to convey such meaning to the word, but as the English word "consideration" combines both, I would give preference to the first explanation.

And with regard to the second sentence, **אלי רומי השאיר** **רשומם** I have no doubt that it must be rendered by, "Elia, the Roman, however, caused the spiritual traces thereof (viz., traces of justice and consideration) yet to remain." That is, by the spirit which pervades all his sacred composition, and by the exhortations which he made to his brethren

in his propitiatory prayers, he has shown that however justice and consideration may have vanished from earth, yet they remain with God. It was the Divine intention in creating the world, that justice and consideration should rule mankind, therefore they must again re-appear; and for this reason, the author rejoices, and fully hopes in a speedy redemption.

The expressions **השאיך רשומם** and **מרצון נצחי** make it obvious that the author intended to use them in their kabbalistic sense. I only need to quote the tabular inscriptions from the **עמק המלך**, which may be seen, by those who have not the opportunity to refer to the original work, in Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata*, to show the correctness of my view.

The author of that work, in attempting to represent to the human mind the free will, emanation and concentration of the divine power, as manifested in the first act of the creation, describes his system, the different phases of the creation, in a square containing three circles or spheres, one within the other. Round the outer sphere, the square is painted black, to represent darkness; for, God, the Lord of will, (**בעל הרצון**) he says, is concealed from the comprehension of all living beings, and therefore his divine essence is unto them like darkness. **בעל הרצון שהוא השך המוחלט נעלם מעין כל הי** This is the inscription round the first sphere. The second sphere in the tablet represents "light," viz.,—the eternal "light," which He, the Lord of will, caused to emanate by the manifestation of His spiritual design of the creation (**רשם**), and bears the following inscription, **אור האין סוף שהוציא בעל הרצון על ידי הרשם**. The third sphere represents the phase of creation, which was intended to become comprehensible to the human mind, and is for this reason called **עולם המלבוש מהרושם**, "The world

under the garment of the first emanation." Thus the expression **השאייר רשומם** in connection with the attribute of God as the **בעל הרצון**, leaves no doubt of the author's intention, that they should be understood in a kabbalistical point of view.

The root **שאר** connected with **רשם** we find in the language of the kabbalistic work, the **זוהר** of Rabbi Shimeon ben Yokhāi, as expressed in the following sentence **ולא אשתאר ביה בהדיה גופיה בר חד רשימו דקוסטו דהיותא דרליבא**³ The following explanation of the word **רשם** as given by the author of the kabbalistic work **שבע טל** p. 33, will give us the exact meaning of the word in the legend before us:—

Like the sculptor who first slightly traces his design on the material previous to the beginning of the work **רשם**, then makes the first engraving **חקה**, which is followed by deeper incisions **הצב**, and finally completes his work by giving all the necessary perfections to each of the different forms **עשה**, so, the author says, might we be permitted to imagine the different phases of the first act of the Creator.

The Divine Being first called into existence the most high, the most spiritual world, the **עולם האצילות** (the world of free willed emanation), which, although the most incomprehensible to the human mind, was yet the prototype of all other created worlds; hence the first act of the creation, is, by the author of the **ספר יצירה**, expressed by the word **רשם** He slightly traced, as it were, the spiritual design of the worlds he intended to create.

Next came another world, which although like the first, invisible, was yet, to a certain degree, of a nature to be a little nearer to our comprehension; this was the **עולם**

³ "And there is nothing left within the body, except one trace of the spirit of life, which is in the heart" **והר , פרישת לך לך**

הבריאה (the world of creation), and, for this reason, forms the second phase, designated by the word חקק. He made, as it were, the first engraving of His design.

This was followed by the third phase, representing the world as the עולם היצירה (the world of formation), which, being a degree more comprehensible to our mind than the previous world, the act of this divine creation is expressed by the word חצב. He made deep incisions.

And lastly, the world of action עולם העשיה was produced, in which everything was intended for the comprehension of men; and this final act of the first creation is termed עשה.

The word רשומם then, signifies, their spiritual traces, viz., the spiritual design which God manifested of them (of justice and consideration, or the divine attributes of righteousness, mercy, compassion, which God intended man in this world should endeavour to imitate as much as lies in his power) in the first phase of His act of creation.

The fifteenth century, a period to which, as will be shown hereafter, the medal belongs, was a time when Israel had to endure the greatest oppression, and the most unheard-of persecutions; justice ceased to be shown towards them, and men of the greatest desert were treated in the most cruel manner; so that all hope of deliverance was nearly given up by them. The author of the legend, therefore, refers his brethren to illustrations of divine providence, as taught by Eli Romi, which cannot but impress on their minds, that justice and consideration had yet left traces on earth, and that God surely would deliver them from the hands of their oppressors.

Eli Romi, I consider to be identical with Elia, the son of Shemaya 'בר שמעי' אלי the author of many supplicatory prayers סליחות adopted in the Roman as well as in the German ritual of the Jews.

He was, no doubt, a man of great learning and piety, who

in his time, endeavoured to re-kindle the flame of hope in the bosom of his brethren, by directing their thoughts to the omnipotent and everlasting Disposer of events. In his sacred hymns and propitiatory prayers, he elucidated the ways of Providence in a manner pre-eminently calculated to raise the sunken spirit of the nation, and to re-animate them with the hope of a speedy deliverance; concluding his exhortations by the assurance of God's forgiveness. The Omnipotent, he often says, takes no delight in the punishment of the transgressor, but in seeing him leave the path of wickedness, and thus remain alive, both physically and spiritually. The author of the legend, therefore, could not have selected a more zealous individual in the cause of God than Eli, nor could he have addressed more fervent exhortations than those coming from his pen, and which were familiar in the mouths of the devout children of Israel.

The word בהשגחת אֱלִי which precedes the sentence אֱלִי רומי השאיר רשומם I translate with Providence, and render בהשגחת אֱלִי רומי by Providence of Eli Romi (viz., by the providence as taught or illustrated by the Eli Romi). The fact of Eli Romi's instruction being ascribed as a subject belonging to himself, cannot be a cause of surprise, for we find distinctly a similar case in the Book of Deuteronomy ch. 37, where the righteousness and the judgments of God are ascribed to Moses, on account of his having instructed Israel in those divine attributes. Thus:—

צדקת ה' עשה ומשפטיו עם ישראל

As these two words אֱלִי רומי form the most difficult part in the legend, I may perhaps be permitted to adduce some proof in support of my assertion.

Eli Romi, I said to be identical with Elia the son of Shemáyá, the author of the סליחות. Having no information respecting his birth-place, we may not unreasonably

suppose him to be of Roman origin, and for this reason called in the legend אלי רומי. And, I maintain, that this may be unquestionably proved by comparing almost all the propitiatory prayers of his composition with the legend in question.

After introducing his subject by quoting an expression from Daniel iv. 14, which refers to what has been communicated in a dream to Nebuchadnezzar, to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will "בגזירת" he complains of justice and consideration having disappeared כל משפט העדר הצורה. This corresponds with what Eli bar Shemáyá says in his propitiatory prayer which begins with the words אתה הלכך וצור לבבי "I cry because of violence which is committed, but no one cometh to render help. Why dost thou permit, O Lord! the wicked to surround the righteous! Thou, whose helping hand cannot be restrained. An avaricious and low fellow sits like a king among his associates, removing the noble-minded from before his presence like a useless shard."⁴

Eli Romi states that he anxiously looked out for the appointed time, in which the redemption would take place ראיתי אורך לזמן שיגהו הקץ Eli bar Shemáyá says "The end is concealed, no one knoweth it."⁵ The duration of the

⁴ חָמָס אֲזַעַק וְאֵין מוֹשִׁיעַ: לָמָּה צָדִיק מִבְּתִיר מוֹשִׁיעַ וְלֹא קִצְרָה יָדָּךְ
מִהוֹשִׁיעַ (סליחה צ"ד)

כִּילִי וְנָבֵל בְּמַלְאָךְ בְּמִסְבּוֹ נָדִיב וְיִשׁוּעַ נִטְרָר בְּחֻבּוֹ בְּכָלִי אֵין חֶפְצִין בּוֹ: צָדִיק
מִטְ לִפְנֵי רִשְׁעַ (סליחה צ"ד)

מִמִּשְׁלַל רַב לְסָרֵב לָמָּה הִחַלֵּט נָבֵל בְּנָדִיב וְכִילִי בְּשׁוּעַ שְׁלֵט (סליחה ק"א)

⁵ וְזִמָּן קָצִי סְתוּמִים מִלְּדַע (סליחה צ"ד)

מִפְּעֻרְכִּי לֵב מִשְׁתָּה פֶל נָבוֹן וְרָבִן
נַעֲלָם מִשְׁדֵּה הָעֵדֶן וְנִסְתָּם בְּשִׁטְ הַחֲרָבִין (סליחה ל"ג)

time of suffering remaineth a secret even to the most reflecting sages and the most learned in the law; no one knoweth the end of the destruction."

Eli Romi yet puts his trust in God, and hopes that the day will nevertheless come when Israel will again rejoice, for God is merciful and forgiving רב פדותך אוהל יי שדי רב וסלה Eli bar Shemáyá says, "My hope, however, is that He is forgiving and exculpating, it is for this reason that I continue to place my trust in my Creator, even whilst exposed to the danger of being deprived of my life."⁶

If we translate, with Dr. Zunz, the word רומי Romans, and take the word השאיר in the imperative mood, the more simple translation of רשומם השאיר would be: "Let their traces remain," instead of, "Guard us from their traces." I will, however, not dilate longer on the complete words in the legend, but proceed to the initials or abbreviations.

In pointing out several letters which are differently represented by the before-mentioned decyphers, I may here observe, that allowance must be made for those who made their translations from the print, either in Menestrier's History of Lyons, or from that in the Memoir of Dr. Carmoly; both prints I do not consider exact copies from the original, as I shall presently have the honour of showing.⁷

The method I adopted to find the words for these abbreviations was simply, in the first place, to search for such

⁶ תקנותי הוא סולה ומוחל הן יקטלני לו יאחל
 נסמור מלט עבדיד ירדיד הצלח היט זמן קרב פרוגתם ותיצלח. מוחל לנו
 אבינו הטיאנו סלח ב' אתה ה' טוב וסלח (סליחה ק"א)

⁷ Mr. Williams kindly favoured me with a print of the medal, for which I beg to offer him my best thanks.

words as would correspond with the nature of the legend in general ; and, secondly, to find some sentence to indicate the name of the maker of the medal ; for, I took it for granted, that the author of the inscription had nothing to do with the making of the figure, or the Latin and Greek inscriptions.

Having previously established that the legend referred to the redemption of Israel, as prayed for by 'אלי' בר שמעי', I searched for words in connection with that subject, and came to the following result :

Let us take the first eight letters which follow the word וסלה, and for our better comprehension, place under each of them a number, thus :—

וִי גִּה וְעַ עִי
8.7.6.5.4.3.2.1

Dr. Carmoly takes them as initials of names belonging to some of the former members of the Hebrew community at Lyons. Dr. Zunz is of opinion, that they might be abbreviations of words contained in the daily prayers. He takes six letters of the first line, together with the two letters מ' of the vertical line under the ג, and reads them, as stated before :—

וּמִן יִשְׁעוֹ גּוֹמֵל הַסִּדִּים וּפּוֹדֶה עֲנּוּיִם מִצְמִיחַ יְשׁוּעָה
“And the shield of our salvation bestowing gracious favours and redeeming the humble, causing salvation to spring forth.”

The letters marked with the numbers 7 and 8 he takes for one letter, the ש ; which, he says, is an abbreviation of the word שמי “ my name,” referring to the name of בנימין to be seen immediately under it.

My humble opinion is, to take the No. 1, the letter ו, as an abbreviation of the word ואני ; No. 2, the letter י, for ידעתי ; No. 3, the letter ג, for גואלי ; No. 4, the letter ה, for חי ; No. 5, the letter ו, for ואחרון ; No. 6, the letter ע, for על ; No. 7, the letter ע, for עפר ; and No. 8, the letter י,

for יָקוּם:—these words, when read in succession, form the twenty-fifth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Job:—

וְאֲנִי יֹדַעְתִּי גּוֹאֲלִי חַי וְאַחֲרָיוֹן עַל עֶפְרַיִם יָקוּם

“I know it, my Redeemer liveth, the last mortal will confirm it,” and are remarkably connected with the words of רָאִיתִי אֹרֶךְ לִזְמַן יְשִׁיגֵהוּ הַקֵּץ and פְּדוּתָךְ אֲחִיל alluding to the hope of a redemption.

I am, moreover, inclined to think, that the contents of four verses preceding the twenty-fifth have given the idea of perpetuating the belief in a sure and speedy redemption on metal.

“Why do ye persecute me as God, and are not satisfied with my flesh? O that my words were now written! O that they were engraved in a book! That they were graven in the rock for ever with an iron pen and lead.”

לָמָּה תִּרְדָּפוּנִי כְּמוֹ-אֵל וּכְמִבְּשָׂרִי לֹא תִשָּׁעֶעוּ: מִי יִתֵּן אִפּוֹ
וְיִפְתָּבוּן מְלִי מִי יִתֵּן בַּסֶּפֶר וַיִּחַקּוּ: בְּעֵט-בְּרִזָּל וְעִפְרַת
לְעֵד בְּצוּר יִהְיֶיבוּן

The individual who caused the medal to be struck, thought the case of his brethren, to a certain degree, similar to that of Job. The enemies of the Jews probably said unto them, “The troubles and persecutions which embitter your life are a well deserved chastisement for your iniquities, God has now forsaken you,” and other similar expressions. The words in the inscription remind us to answer these remonstrances in words similar to those of Job: “True, our sins are great, yet we have never denied Divine justice. His punishment we have well deserved; but nevertheless our hope is not gone; on the contrary, I know that my redeemer liveth, the last mortal will confirm it.”

The next nine letters appear, to me, to represent abbre-

viations of words which give the name of the person who made the medal. Six of these letters which are opposite to the eyes and nose of the figure (מ"י כ"ת ה"ע), I read for מעשה ידי כתיבת העני, the translation of which is, "The work of my hand, the writing of the humble." The three remaining letters, immediately under the tied-up hair, were taken by Menestrier, Carmoly, Levy, Löwisohn and Zunz for one word, כוש, "Ethiopia"; I take them for an abbreviation of three words. Having the medal before me, I can distinctly see that the second letter is not a ך but ר, similar in form to that in the word הצורה of the legend. I also notice three dots over the three letters, which confirm me in my belief of their being abbreviations; and for these reasons I am led to consider the three letters to represent the three words כבוד רבי שבתי "the respected R. Shabtái," possibly a relative of Eliahu Beer.

The two letters opposite to ברש are בן, "son," the two letters in front of the head, and the three letters behind, make the word בנימין. Taking now the nine letters together with the insertion of the words בן בנימין, we shall have the following legend: מעשה ידי כתיבת העני בנימין בן כבוד רבי שבתי "The work of my hand, the writing of my hand, the humble Benjamin, the son of the respected R. Shabtái."

I have taken the letters ה"ע as an abbreviation of the word העני, and not העני, for two reasons; the first is, because the Jews in general are not in the habit of prefixing that attribute of modesty to their names; they generally use the word הצעיר "the young," or הקטן "the little." The Caraites and the present Samaritans only, who adopted this custom from the Arabs, prefix to their signature the word الفقير Elfakeer, "the poor"; and the second reason

is, because I believe **העני** to have been the name of the family from which he descended.

There was, among the Jewish physicians in Italy, as recorded by Dr. Carmoly in his *Historie des Médecins Juifs*, a family of the name of **עני** "the humble," in Italian, "dei piatelli." The most distinguished of them were Benjamin Rofé and Abraham Rofé, who lived during the time of Pope Innocent the Third. Their descendants were all men of great distinction, having written several works of great literary value. The names of Jehuda Yaáleh, the son of Benjamin **העני** **העני**; his two brothers, Zidkeyáh and Yekutiel; Benjamin and Zidkeyáh, the sons of Abraham the physician, are well known.

The author of the book, Sheebooley **הלכת**, mentions the name of Yehuda Yaáleh the son of Benjamin **העני** **העני** as having written valuable commentaries on a work called **הלכות** **אלפס**. Zidkeyáh the younger brother of Yehooda is quoted with much praise by the same author. Yekutiel's son was the author of an excellent work on morals, entitled **מאלות** **המידות**. Benjamin, the son of Abraham, the physician, left several works of his composition, one of which, entitled "The fourteen gates," is deposited in the *Bibliothèque Impériale* of Paris, Fonds Sorbonne, No. 246. Zidkeyáh, the younger brother of Benjamin, and disciple of Yehooda Yaale, is the author of the above-named Sheebooley **הלכת**.

A descendant of this family was the pious physician Menakhem (**עני**) **אנא**, who lived in Rome, and died there, renowned for his great learning and piety.

Dr. Zunz, in his *Analecten*, published in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, mentions the family of **עני**, **אנא**, very frequently. In describing Jechiel Chajim ben Jacob, of Bethel, he says, that individual wrote a work for a member

of the family dei Piatelli, in the year 1445, and was instrumental in procuring a copy of the two first books of Avicenna's Canon for Elia Beér (Fonte) ben Sabtai. He also mentions Joab ben Baruch, as belonging to the family of the Anavim ענ״י.

The celebrated poet, Emanuel Romi ben Shelomo, the contemporary of the Italian Fra Guittone of Arezzo, in describing, in his poetic vision, his visit to Paradise, gives the names of several members of the Anavim family whom he had seen there.

“On leaving the place assigned for the punishment of the transgressors,” said he, “where our thoughts, from what we had seen there, had become nearly confused, our mind extended its wings and took a flight towards Eden, the place assigned for reward to those who acted in conformity with the will of the Creator; we directed our course towards the ladder, the foot of which is fixed on earth, but the top reacheth heaven. On our reaching that celestial abode, we met there my lord and preceptor R. Benjamin, who instructed me in the law when I was young; R. Zidkeyáhoo, the Anav, ענ״י, and his three sons, the pre-eminently pious physician, R. Menakhem, the righteous R. Yitzkhák, the physician, and his son, R. Benjamin.”

Believing, then, that the maker of this medal was a descendant of the family ענ״ים “the humble or meek,” in Italian “*Dei piatelli*,” or, as expressed in Hebrew words, by Bartolucci, מלפ״אטיל, I read the abbreviation of הע for הענ״י, and not העני.

By adopting this mode of reading, I arrive at the conclusion, that the Latin word “*unilitas*,” and the Greek word, *τλῴροσις*, are merely translations of the word הענ״י, and indicate nothing more than the name of the distinguished family from whom the maker descended.

We now come to the last six letters, which appear to come out of the mouth of the figure. I am inclined to think that the maker of the medal, having seen the design of his work complete, thought proper to render thanks to the everlasting Being for his success, as was customary with the Jews to do on completing a work, and which may still be seen on the last page in many printed books. The usual form is expressed in the following six letters, תושלבע, which are abbreviations of the words

תם ונשלם שבח לאל בורא עולם

and signify "Ended and completed; praise to God, the Creator of the universe!"

The letters on the medal are ש"א ת"ל ח"ו, I read them as abbreviations of the words

שבח אתן תהלה לאל חי וקים

and which may be rendered by "I give praise and glory to the living and everlasting God."

Having, as I venture to hope, satisfactorily decyphered the legend on the obverse, we shall now turn our attention to the Latin inscription on the reverse.

There we find various points which require great consideration. The Latin words "post tenebras spero lucem," have been taken by Dr. Carmoly to be the last portion of Job xvii. 13, according to the translation of the Vulgata. This is, so far, quite correct; but may we not ask, how is it that a Jew, who is supposed to have been the author of the inscription, should have departed from the plain sense of the Hebrew text אור קרוב מפני השך, which is, "Light is near unto me in consequence of the darkness,"⁸ and adopt, in preference, the translation of the Vulgata?

⁸ Job in describing the troubles which befell him, saying, זמתי, נתקו מארצי לבבי, complained of their preventing him from sleeping at night; לילה ליום ישמנו אור קרוב מפני השך, "They make night into day, light to be near in consequence of darkness (trouble)."

Another point of consideration is, to what particular date do the letters D.III.M. refer, so as to justify the Jews in their belief that the time of redemption was near at hand; and, if referring to the Christian era, might we not reasonably ask, what object could the Jewish author have had in view, by commemorating his pious exhortations, apparently directed to his brethren in faith alone, according to the Christian, in preference to the Jewish era?

To answer these questions we must again unfold the book of history; but to find the exact page therein for our information, we must first decide the exact meaning of the letters D.III.M.

As most of the learned members of this Society unanimously agree to consider the end of the fifteenth century, or even the beginning of the sixteenth century, as the proper period in which to place the striking of this medal, I feel inclined to adopt the opinion of Mr. Bergne, who, on seeing it, at once remarked, that the irregular position of the letters D.III.M., would not prevent the reading of them in the same manner as if they had been written M.D.III. He pointed out a considerable number of instances given in Van Loon's *Histoire Métallique des Pays Bas*, vol. i., p. 121, and I entertain no doubt of the correctness of his views, this being frequently the case in Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian dates. But as the instances quoted by Mr. Bergne refer to letters selected from whole words, we must, for this reason, also in the medal before us seek the words which the author may have had in view in placing the numeral letters in this unusual order, otherwise we might not be justified in adopting Mr. Bergne's opinion.

My humble opinion is, that the author of the legend intended to introduce the initials of an additional sentence, bearing on the subject of redemption, and by doing so he

gained two objects, which, as I shall show afterwards, he had much at heart, viz., to exhort the Jews to remain firm in their belief of a speedy redemption, and to point out a fixed date for the appearance of the Messiah to the Christians.

I take the letter M. to represent the Hebrew מ, which I consider to have been intended as an abbreviation of the word מעולם; the III., for the Hebrew ג, an abbreviation of the word גאלנו; and the D., for the Hebrew letter ד, an abbreviation of the ineffable name of the Tetragrammaton. The three words together, then, I read either from the left to the right, or from the right to the left, and the sense of them in either way, would be, "The Eternal Being is our Redeemer from ever since."

Having now ascertained the year 1503 to have been the period when the medal was struck, we shall, on referring to history, find two extraordinary events recorded, which will serve us fully to shed an entirely new light on the subject of our enquiry.

The first of these was the preservation of the Talmud, a work containing all the authenticated traditional explanations to the law, which an apostate from the Jewish religion, a man of the name of Pfeffercorn, wanted, by his influence with the Pope, to have consigned to the flames.

Most extraordinarily the work was saved by the exertions of a man who was the chief of the Christian learned theologians of his time. Dr. Johannis Reuchlin wrote a defence of the Talmud in Hebrew, which was published for the first time, from the original manuscript, in G. Friedländer's *Berträge zur Reformations Geschichte*, Berlin, 1837, and translated by the writer of this into English, in his *Appendix to Levinsohn's Effés Dammin*, London, 1841.

Considering the innumerable sacrifices which the Jews have always made of their lives and property, only to

remain true to their religion, we may easily judge to what extent their hope in the special protection of the Omnipotent must have been re-kindled within their bosoms, on seeing, in an age of hatred and persecution, as the fifteenth century was, a man differing from them in faith, rise and defend that book, elucidating the principles of the religion, for which they had made so many sacrifices.

The second extraordinary event, was the appearance of an individual, who, by his exhortations, prepared both Jews and Christians for the arrival of the Messiah. As this disclosure refers to the most important point in our investigation, I shall give an exact translation, of the accounts relating to that subject, as given in the works *Emék Hábákhá עמק הבכא* by R. Joseph Hacoheh, and *Tzémákh David צמח דוד* by R. David Gans.

Referring to the year 1496, which gave him birth, the author of the *Emék Hábákhá* says, "About that time there rose in Istria, near Venice, a German Jew of the name of Lemlein; he was a foolish prophet, a madman, who professed to be gifted with inspiration. Many Jews flocked around him, and believed him to be a real prophet; 'God,' said they, 'has sent him to become a ruler in Israel, for the purpose of gathering the dispersed sons of Judah from the four cardinal points of the earth.'" Even men of learning, said the author, followed him. They proclaimed fasts, girded sackcloth round their loins, and with feelings of deep contrition they left their wicked paths to turn unto God. "Our salvation," they said, "is nigh to come, and the Eternal, in proper season (which they believed then to be), will hasten our redemption to take place."

The author of the *Tzémákh David* describes that event as follows:—"In the year 5260—1500,* Rabbi Lemlein

* According to the author of the *שילשלת הקבלה*, this year was called *שנת התשובה*, the year of penitence.

announced the arrival of the Messiah. His words were believed among Israelites, and even among non-Israelites he caused great sensation, and many Christians believed in his predictions.⁹ My grandfather, R. Seligmann Gans," says the author, "was so firm in his belief, that he actually broke up his oven, which he solely used for the baking of Passover biscuits, because Lemlein assured him he would bake them next year in Jerusalem." The author further states, that he had heard his own preceptor, R. Eliezer Treves, the Chief Rabbi of Frankfort on the Maine, saying, "The predictions were not without foundation, but owing to the sins of Israel the arrival of the Messiah has not taken place.

Basnage and Wolf also give an account of Lemlein, but they give his name incorrectly as David Lemlein, his name was Asher. They have no doubt confused it with that of David Reubeni, the associate of Shelomo Molkho.

Basnage remarks, that Lemlein having soon become aware of his having prefixed too short a time for his prophecies, published that the people's sins had retarded the appearance of the Deliverer, and the nation celebrated a solemn fast to appease God, and to hasten the deliverance, which did not come.

From the above historical statements, it becomes evident that the end of the fifteenth century was the exact period in which many Jews and Christians in Germany and Italy looked out for the arrival of the Messiah. The words **פְּדוּתָךְ אוֹחֵל** "I hope for Thy redemption," in the Hebrew legend are thus fully explained. The date, 1503, no doubt refers to the year in which the deliverance from trouble and

⁹ רבי לעמלין הי' מבשר על ביאת משיח בשנת ר"ס ובכל תפוצות ישראל האמינו לדבריו גם בין הגוים הי' הקול הולך וגדול ורבים טהם גם האמינו לדבריו

persecution was to have taken place, as indicated by the connexion in which the letters D.III.M. appear to have with the Latin words "dies ultimus."

The Latin inscription together with the Christian era were introduced to make the object of the medal better known to the Christians, of whom, as stated before, many were his zealous adherents. For the same reason, the translation of the Vulgata has been introduced in preference to any other, the latter being considered by the Christians the most authentic. Possibly the author of the Latin inscription, may have intended to convey to the non-Israelite followers of Lemlein, some idea of what is contained in the kabbalistic portion of the Hebrew legend, where the word **רשום** expresses that phase of the first act of the creation, in which the spiritual world was called into existence, known by the word **אור** "light" that came after "darkness" **חשך**.

The figure on the medal has been introduced merely to evade every suspicion that could have been cast on them for striking a medal commemorating views and hopes, undoubtedly not shared by the government of that time.

For the same reason, names of individuals were introduced who did not exist at the time of the making of the medal, but in all probability referred to certain parties best known to those initiated in the secret designs of Asher Lemlein, and the irregular order of the letters indicating the date, had in addition to the reasons stated, also another: the fear of being detected by the authorities.

It remains, at present only to add another remark to the name of **אלי רומי**. The author of the Hebrew legend, I said before, referred to **אלי בר שמעי** who composed supplicatory prayers, the contents of which are similar to that of the legend. Now, as it has been ascertained that Asher Lemlein was the individual whose appearance the medal

was intended to commemorate, it may be interesting to find in the words אֲשֶׁר לְרֹמִי the initials of אֲשֶׁר לְעַמְלֵין יהודי רומי Asher Lemlein, a Roman Jew, and which may perhaps have been also a reason for introducing that name in the legend.

The word רומי might be taken as a term, not only referring to a native of Rome, but also to a person coming from a province belonging to the ancient Roman Empire, which included Istria, near Venice; the meaning of Romi, for the Roman Empire, is given in the frequent expressions of סליחות רומי and ורומי by the authors of סליחות.

The result of my researches, then, is, that the medal in question had nothing to do with Louis le Debonnaire, with the Jews of Lyons, or with astrology. It was intended to commemorate the predictions of Asher Lemlein respecting the arrival of the Messiah in the year 1503, as expected by many Jews and Christians at that time.

The following is the complete Hebrew legend, with the translation thereof:—

בגורת נֹהֵג "ית" מִרְצוֹן נִצְחִי בְּתֵם כָּל מִשְׁפָּט הָעֶדֶד
 הַצּוּרָה רִאִיתִי אֹרֶךְ לֹמֶן יְשִׁיגֵהוּ הָקֵן וְאַתְּבוֹנֶן בְּהִשְׁגַּחַת
 אֲלֵי רֹמִי הַשְּׂאִיר רְשׁוּמָם וְאַעֲלֶהוּ בְּדוֹתֶךָ אוֹהֵל יוֹי
 שְׂרֵי רַב וְסֵלָה :

וְאַנִּי יָדַעְתִּי גּוֹאֲלִי הִי וְאַחֲרוֹן עַל עֵפֶר יָקוּם : מַעֲשֵׂה יָדֵי
 כְּתִיבַת הָעֲנִיּוֹ בְּנִימִין בֶּן כְּבוֹד רַבִּי שְׁבַתִּי : שְׁבַח אַתָּן
 תְּהִלָּה לְאֵל הִי וְקִים

"By the decree of Him who is the guide (of the universe), blessed be He! By His eternal will.

"When all justice ceased, and consideration failed, I beheld the length of that period reaching the appointed end of exile (and no redemption had yet taken place), but on re-

flecting on the ways of Providence as taught by Eli Romi (I perceived), that He caused the spiritual traces of them yet to remain, and I rejoiced.

"I fully hope in Thy redemption, O Eternal! omnipotent God, who art great and forgiving. I know it; my Redeemer liveth, the last on earth will confirm it.

"The work of my hand, the writing of Benjamin, the son of R. Shábtái, of the Anávim family.

"Praise and glory I render to the living and everlasting God."

* * By an oversight, three signs of abbreviation were omitted in the engraving; the original has those signs on the first letter of each word, so as to make up the Acrosticon.



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